THE SURVEY

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The Gist of It

MANY men of many minds are preparing, as this issue of Survey Graphic goes into the mails, to foregather in Washington, D. C., for the First International Congress of Mental Hygiene, which will draw psychiatrists, physicians, social workers and others interested in the mental health of mankind, from May 5 to 10. But it is safe to predict that none will bring to this Congress a record of achievement at once as strange and significant as that of CLIFFORD W. BEERS, author of A Mind That Found Itself, the book that crystallized into being the mental hygiene movement as we know it. The extraordinary story of the reach of a dynamic personality is told on page 117 by Mary Ross, associate editor of Survey Graphic, and editor in charge of the special issue on emotional maturity (Grown-ups) published in April, 1928.

AS medical director of The National Committee for Mental Hygiene, and chairman of the committee on program of the First International Congress of Mental Hygiene, DR. FRANKWOOD E. WILLIAMS has had an opportunity to hear and understand the many tongues in which speak the students and exponents of the nascent science of man's behavior. To the lay listener their current pronouncements may sometimes sound like the utterances of a very Tower of Babel. But here (page 123) Dr. Williams points out that the differences between the various views, or even the validity of their immediate findings, are insignificant in comparison with the aim and method they have in common: to apply toward man himself, his loves and hates and beliefs and behavior, the inductive process of science which less than a century ago was first and disturbingly applied to the physical world.

IN clinic, drawing-room, or even in the smoking-car, few scientific subjects can arouse as fanatic a storm of condemnation (or at times, equally brash defense) as the mention of psychoanalysis is likely to provoke. While not a few intellectual quacks have been exploiting its controversial qualities, and in the process misrepresenting many of them, the majority of the persons qualified to speak have limited their work to research and professional practice and papers in professional journals. We are fortunate in having (page 127) an interpretation by DR. MARTIN W. PECK of some of the things that psychoanalysis is and is not, and some of the new lights that this "depth psychology" is casting on the personal and social aspects of human nature. Dr. Peck is instructor in psychiatry at the Harvard Medical School. Part of the material in this article is to be used in a forthcoming book by Dr. Peck, The Meaning of Psychoanalysis, to be published by Alfred A. Knopf.

FROM first-hand experience ELLIOTT DUNLAP SMITH writes (page 134) of the new problems and possibilities of the worker's leisure time. Five years after his graduation from Harvard, Professor Smith left a legal practice in Chicago to serve as chief of organization in the field division of the Council of National Defense. The war over, he went to the Dennison Manufacturing Company where, beginning as a machine operator, he became division manager (manufacturing) in charge of the crepe paper and box factories. Since 1928 he has been professor of industrial engineering at Yale.

THE paradox of the crime situation in Chicago lies in the strength of the reform movement there. This passion for reform throws into the spotlight of criticism inevitable conditions in the policing system which, in any capital of Europe, would be taken for granted as an unpleasant necessity. This is WILLIAM BOLITHO'S thesis in the third and concluding article of his brilliant series on crime in Chicago. Page 138.

S. K. RATCLIFFE is one of those travelling Englishmen who escapes the proverbial curse of superficiality. For a number of years he has told Americans from the lecture platform and magazine page what is going on in all parts of the world; at home he has reached journalistic eminence through years of writing for the Manchester Guardian and currently for the New Statesman. As a trained and long-time observer of Indian affairs he tells Survey readers (page 144) of the currents sweeping over the island of Gandhist non-resistance.

ELEANOR ROWLAND WEMBRIDGE, the referee of the Juvenile Court of Cleveland, views with amusement and understanding the procession of morons, delinquents and fairly normal young things who pass before her desk. On page 148 meet Sam and Illy.

JOHN ERSKINE made a little foray into contemporary and ancient civilizations at a dinner meeting of the Henry Street Visiting Nurse Association in New York. The pith of his remarks is published on page 151. The reflections on the health bill we must pay if we mean business in America are those of a man who has spent most of his life in education and the arts, for years dean of the college, Columbia University, and now chairman of the administrative committee of the Juillard School of Music; himself a pianist of the first rank; author of The Private Life of Helen of Troy, Galahad, Penelope's Man and other very modern renditions of the classics.

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CLIFFORD W. BEERS

"The mind that found itself" and launched the now world-wide movement for mental health.

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THE SURVEY

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The Genius of Clifford W. Beers

By MARY ROSS

IF you looked at the photograph taken when he was graduated from Yale you would see a serious, sensitive face, dominated by the eyes smouldering beneath straight dark brows. It is a conscientious, dependable sort of a face, suggesting emotional reserve, tinged with unhappiness. You might guess that once aroused this boy would have been a good fighter, but there is no hint of the young fire-brand easily touched off by youthful enthusiasms. He had four ambitions when he entered college: to get his diploma within the prescribed time, to be elected to a coveted secret society, to become an editor of the Yale Record, a humorous bi-weekly; and, achieving this latter, to become its business manager, so that he could earn part of the cost of his tuition. These he attained.

Looking at that same face one day this spring, in the hard light pouring through the window of a Manhattan sky-scraper, it seemed to me that the intervening thirty years had touched it lightly. Caught in repose, to be sure, it showed lines of anxiety and strain. But the eyes, which before were smouldering, are now alight. The confident exuberance which one would have looked for in vain in the college boy now is clearly apparent in the man of fifty. The too-serious reserve of the young man has been transformed in maturity to an outflowing of humor and quick, contagious energy. The spirit behind that face might have its dark moments, too, but they would not be muffled in inner gloom. Their by-product would be an increased spurt toward work ahead. You would guess that this man was engaged successfully in the up-building of some business enterprise that took daring, resourcefulness and force. You would *not* guess that he once had slipped into the dark abyss of insanity and that by a strange alchemy of fate, thereby had altered the course of the world in his time.

That is a bold claim to be made for any man in any generation, yet it is within the bounds of sober statement to say that if it had not been for the mental breakdown which overwhelmed Clifford Beers in June, 1900, there would be no organized mental hygiene movement as we know it, such as convenes in Washington May 5, bringing together thousands of men and women from the six continents to sum up the work of the past twenty years, report experiment and research afoot, and discuss potentialities ahead. "I do not know any kindred movement whose story can be told in so few words," said Dr. William H. Welch, speaking last autumn at the twentieth anniversary dinner of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene. "It is one man—Clifford W. Beers—and one book." The book is, of course, A Mind That Found Itself, Mr. Beers's autobiography, which has gone through sixteen printings and become the classic story of a man's victory over the tides of unreason.

ANYONE looking at Clifford Beers's childhood must have thought, if there was reason to think at all about it, that the scene was set for a pleasantly uneventful life. He was the fifth of six sons of a happy marriage, with old New England blood on his father's side, southern on his mother's. They were people in modestly comfortable circumstances. He went through grammar school and highschool in New Haven, Connecticut, "with as little trouble as scholastic achievement." He sang in a boy choir, and remembers once being goaded into a fist-fight after the too-seraphic calm of a rehearsal, though ordinarily verbal encounters were more to his taste. Despite outward appearances, he was a shy child. When he was graduated into his first pair of short trousers he felt uneasily that the eyes of the world were upon him, and sought refuge at home behind the tables and chairs or sidled along fences to escape notice on the street. But he doubts that this shyness was often realized by others. As he grew older, he was likely to take it out in wise-cracking and

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sometimes straight impudence. By concealing his inner uneasiness he gave, at worst, merely the impression of being pert or stand-offish. If he thought he was being treated unfairly, he would fight only the more doggedly, determined to win (and usually winning) by fair means. If there was any quality unusual for a boy of his age, it was a love of business: he learned to play the guitar well enough to become eligible for the highschool banjo club, solely to become its business manager—and attained this end. In sports he was actively interested only in tennis, in which "the quick give-and-take suited my temperament." In highschool as in college he won election to the secret society he coveted and became manager of the monthly magazine.

THE month that Clifford Beers was graduated from highschool—June, 1894—an elder brother, who had always been in unclouded health, was stricken with what the doctors believed to be epilepsy. There was nothing resembling epilepsy or any like disease in the family history on either side, and this bolt from the blue overshadowed the whole family and especially this younger brother. To the earlier fears and worries not uncommon in adolescence, he now added a driving obsession that a like fate was slowly creeping up on him, though never, at any time, did he himself show any symptoms of epilepsy. If his brother, why not himself as well? A year's secret brooding on this fear produced such a nervous tension that he could not recite in his classes. For a few months he did not attend recitations, but studied at home. During almost two-thirds of his college course, after he rejoined his classes, he was ordinarily excused from reciting because of his state of health.

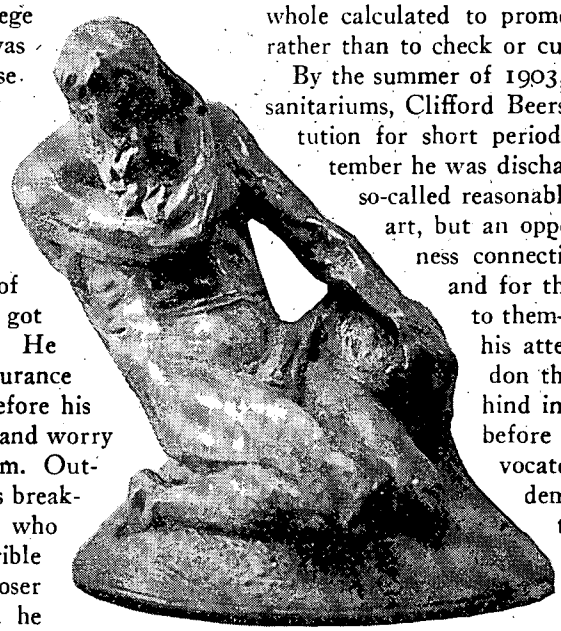
Looking back later, Clifford Beers could realize that he was a sick man, mentally, when he graduated from Yale in June, 1897, but he went on at once to the first job that offered, a clerkship in the office of the collector of taxes in New Haven. A year later he got a coveted opening in New York City. He was working there as a clerk in a life insurance company in June, 1900, a few weeks before his brother's death, when the pent-up dread and worry of the past years finally overpowered him. Outwardly, up to the actual afternoon of his breakdown, he seemed natural to the people who worked at his side; but within a terrible sense of impending calamity crept closer and closer till that last day he found he could not speak at will, though he still could answer questions. Hurriedly arranging his affairs, he took a train home, there still to find no relief; a week later he made an all but successful attempt to kill himself by jumping from a fourth story window of his home. In that desperate leap he lost for all time the unfounded fear of epilepsy that had dogged his footsteps for the past six years; but he entered on the three years of unreason, terror, ecstasy, and suffering which his book so vividly and faithfully recounts.

What has been significant for the world is that among the hundreds of thousands of men and women who suffered as did Clifford Beers from the results of their own illness and the cruel ignorance with which it was treated, one came who could turn suffering to account and sharpen it to a weapon to break down fortresses of apathy and abuse. Due chiefly to the eager efforts of Dorothea Dix, there had been in the middle of the nineteenth century a wave of humane interest in the treatment of the insane. Some thirty-two institutions were founded, with enthusiastic claims and promises as to what these hospitals—not mere asylums—could do for the care and cure of insanity. But promises ran ahead of the psychiatric knowledge of that day; the enthusiasm spent its force without accomplishing what had been promised, a revulsion in popular feeling set in which gradually broke down the scientific fervor of the earlier years. Most of the institutions deteriorated into mere asylums, and fell into neglect and inefficiency.

At the time when Clifford Beers entered a sanitarium in Connecticut modern psychiatry had been born in the minds of a few of its leaders, who realized that there was no sharp line of demarcation between the mentally sick and the mentally well, and that the insane people were sick people, no more to be blamed or punished for their behavior than the man with pneumonia is to be punished for his fever. But this understanding still was far removed from the public, from even the medical profession as a whole, and certainly from the legal authorities. "It is not too much to say," declared Professor C.-E. A. Winslow in a presidential address before the Connecticut Society for Mental Hygiene, "that the legal and institutional procedure for dealing with mental disease at the beginning of the present century was on the whole calculated to promote and increase mental deviation rather than to check or cure it."

By the summer of 1903, after three years in hospitals and sanitariums, Clifford Beers was permitted to leave the institution for short periods to visit his family and in September he was discharged to return to the world of the so-called reasonable. At first he thought of studying art, but an opportunity to return to his old business connections revived his interest in them, and for the next year and a half he devoted to them—successfully—the greater part of his attention. His mind could not abandon the miserable people he had left behind in the institutions but he knew that before he could hope successfully to advocate reforms for others he must first demonstrate to his family and friends that he could take care of himself. He believed, then being twenty-eight—that by forty he might write a book which would dramatize the plight of the insane as Uncle Tom's Cabin had dramatized that of the slaves.

Yet by the end of 1904 the claims of this duty had come so to govern him that he decided to start at once. For a few weeks the force of the impulse threatened again to sweep him into a state of abnormal elation; on the advice of his brother and of his friends, he returned voluntarily to a private institution for a month, his last stay as a patient. Six months later, after another interlude of business he started the book itself. He had been encouraged to do so by Joseph H. Choate, who told him that busy men might read a book in their leisure moments when they could not take the time to hear verbally



YESTERDAY

Readers of the Adult Issue of Survey Graphic, April, 1928 will remember the three portrait heads by Alexander Portnoff. We reproduce here two of his symbolic figures of man in evolution.

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of his projects to reform the state hospitals. A good part of the first revision of the story was done in the very room in his home where he had attempted suicide six years before.

The manuscript of the book at once won the interest and active aid of William James and a year later that of Adolf Meyer and other outstanding psychiatric leaders. It was Dr. Meyer who christened with the prophetic name "mental hygiene" the movement to whose planning and organization Mr. Beers now turned all his energies. Professor James was the first whom he invited to become a member of a proposed National Committee for Mental Hygiene, followed by Julia C. Lathrop, Jacob Gould Schurman, Dr. William H. Welch, W. H. P. Faunce of Brown University, and a score of other similarly eminent persons. With their moral support assured, Mr. Beers felt ready to place his book before the public, and its original publication in 1908 met with immediate response.

"The world was my oyster in 1908 and I wanted to put cocktail sauce on it," he said recently, looking back with reminiscent satisfaction on that year when a young man barely thirty, with a recent history of insanity and without financial resources, had succeeded in ranging behind an idea a phalanx of the country's acknowledged intellectual leaders. He wanted to proceed at once to organize a national organization, but was persuaded by his advisors to make the first trial on a more modest scale. So on May 6, 1908, a little gathering of fourteen persons met at the home of Anson Phelps Stokes in New Haven and organized the Connecticut Society for Mental Hygiene for "the improvement of conditions among those actually insane and confined, and the protection of the mental health of the public at large," with Clifford Beers as its executive secretary. In February of the following year the National Committee for Mental Hygiene came into formal being, and Mr. Beers left his first nursling to become the secretary—as he still is—of the larger organization. To its founding he had devoted his time and energy, what money he could give, and an additional $8,000 he had borrowed on his sole responsibility from friends and relatives.

TODAY

For hundreds of thousands of patients in mental hospitals the movement founded by Clifford Beers has meant turning the despair of our yesterdays into the courage and constructive care of today.

When the First International Congress on Mental Hygiene convenes on May 5, with Herbert Hoover as honorary president, it will show a roster of the mental hygiene societies of eighteen states in the Union, and the national mental hygiene societies of Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Finland, France, Japan, Germany, Great Britain, Holland, Hungary, India, Italy, New Zealand, South Africa, Spain, and Switzerland, as well, of course, as the United States; while its committee on organization includes representatives of these and more than a dozen other countries, and of some fifty professional and governmental groups in this country in the fields of medicine, nursing, economics, education, eugenics, law, anthropology, sociology, social work, religion, and research. One is not surprised to observe that the secretary-general of the congress is Clifford W. Beers. Nor that Clifford W. Beers is the founder and secretary of the American Foundation for Mental Hygiene, which gallantly came into being in May, 1928, without a cent in its coffers as the financing agency for the mental hygiene movement and since then has acquired funds to underwrite the international congress and other current projects.

From the beginning Clifford Beers's way has been to set out and then somehow find the means to get there, with a contagion of confidence that drew others with him. "Humph," he said gaily, looking at the title of an editorial, Clifford Beers Marches On. "When I saw that I said to my wife, 'To be sure, he still *marches* on—the movement I founded isn't prosperous enough to give me a ride.'" The whole structure of the solid professional work which the National Committee for Mental Hygiene has pursued through these twenty years—its general educational propaganda and specific surveys and studies which have eliminated the grosser evils of the care of the insane in jails and almshouses, expanded institutional facilities under competent direction and largely freed from political interference, and instigated a thorough evolution in the prevention, care and attitude toward mental disease and finally toward mental health—has been reared largely on just such financial feats as that which attended its start, when Clifford Beers borrowed from friends he had convinced, sure that in a little time he could convince others to give to make up the debit. He once called himself the committee's "ambulatory endowment." He is, in fact, an endowed endowment for not long ago an anonymous friend of mental hygiene volunteered to be responsible for his salary for ten years so that he might be free from personal worry or embarrassment to devote his energy to the plans and dreams ahead.

On others, of course, and especially on the late Dr. Thomas W. Salmon, for the first ten years medical director of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene, and on Dr. Frankwood E. Williams, his successor, has devolved the professional leadership which guided the work through constantly widening circles. Mr. Beers would be the first to make this clear. "I am an organizer—I sometimes call myself the floorwalker at the office. But Dr. Salmon laid the basis on the scientific side, and had that not succeeded, my whole project would have failed."

The project not only didn't fail, but in the scope of its aims and endeavors has advanced beyond the widest hopes of even its enthusiastic founder. From the beginning Mr. Beers stressed not only the care but also the prevention of insanity. "Though the improvement of conditions among those actually insane and confined should ever be an important factor in shaping the policy of such an organization," he declared in his book, "its most important work would be the waging of an educative war against the prevailing ignorance regarding insanity. This, to cure the disease by preventing it, is the only effective cure known." What he did not then envisage was the widening of an understanding of mental ill health to cast light upon the troubles of the feebleminded, the criminal, even the unhappiness and inefficiency of so-called normal people. What this might mean is suggested in the preamble written by W. Curtis Bok for

(*Continued on page* 167)

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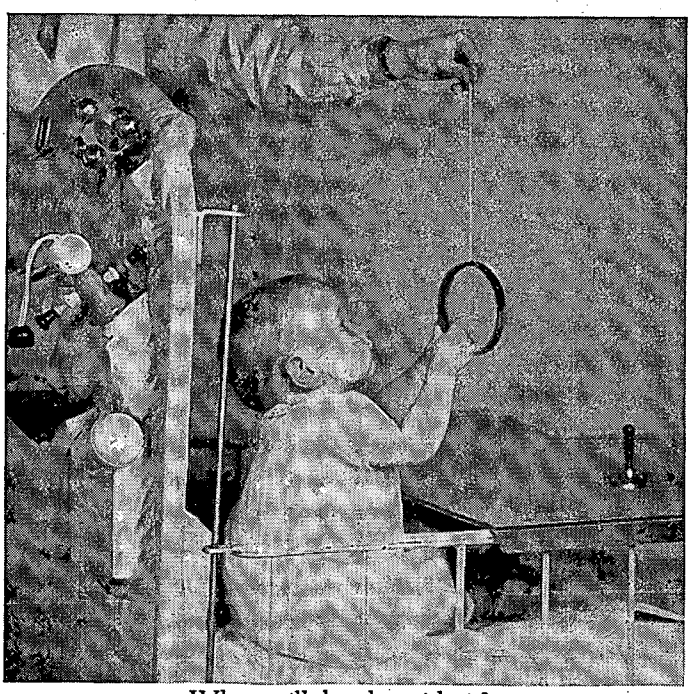
The "psychiatric interview" is a friendly talk with a doctor who listens objectively

Straightening Young Twigs

Photographs by Lewis W. Hine
for the Institute of Child Guidance

THE old adage about young twigs being bent is an unconscious confession of bias on the part of a social order which often felt that it was the duty of parents and schools to bend children into an approved pattern. The new art of child guidance wants not to bend but to straighten children's personalities — to free them from the twists that may develop later into gnarled maturity. So it falls under the classification of *orthopsychiatry*—a new term for the sort of psychiatric service that unbends minds and emotions instead of waiting until the kink is actually a deformity.

The Institute for Child Guidance, founded in 1927 by the Commonwealth Fund in New York, is an agency for training the three types of workers who share this process—psychiatrists, clinical psychologists, and social workers. Training, in this case, must be based on sound preparation and carried on through supervised clinical experience. So children from schools and social agencies and families are accepted for care. Together with training and treatment, the staff carries forward a variety of research activities, for treatment processes need refinement and standardization.



What will he do with it?

Essentials in child guidance are the four-fold study of the child and his environment — physical, psychological, social, and psychiatric— and the treatment which is carried on in harmony by staff workers from each specialized field who pool their information and their methods in frequent case conferences. A few babies are studied at the institute in connection with research into the tempo of normal development. The engrossed youngster at the left is undergoing such a study.

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Psychological tests of various kinds take their place at the institute as one clue to the child's personality and capacity. No single test is given undue weight. The atmosphere of the institute, throughout, is friendly and informal.

The social worker talks with parents, sometimes at the institute, sometimes at home. Many such interviews are needed to elicit deep-lying facts and to bring about changing attitudes. The physical examination is essential too.

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Engraved from the painting by Landseer

THE OLD WAY—

"The naughty child" made to stand alone in the corner, coerced by shame or fear to do as he was told.

AND THE NEW

The psychiatrist winning the confidence of the child in order to understand her attitude and feelings.

Photograph by Lewis W. Hine

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Toward a Science of Man

By FRANKWOOD E. WILLIAMS, M.D.

A YEAR or so ago a lecture course in mental hygiene was given in New York City composed of lecturers with views as diverse as those of Professor Joseph Jastrow, Dr. Lawson G. Lowrey, Dr. Abraham Myerson, and Otto Rank. In the course of their discussion these lecturers had referred to the work of Freud, of Jung, of Adler, of Watson, and of others working in the field of human behavior. I was asked to sum up, to "draw together," the course in the final two lectures. What was wanted not only by the committee sponsoring the lectures but, I am sure, by those who had attended the lectures, was for someone to harmonize these conflicting views. Only the most naive would have entertained the idea that some "authority" could resolve their confusion by telling them unequivocally that in this respect Freud was wrong and Jung right while in that they could safely accept Freud and dismiss Jung and Adler. But what this intelligent group might have hoped for was for someone to discover for them a unifying thread running through all these views that would bring them into something of an organized system, or, at least, to show that the apparent contradictions were not as great or as important as they seemed.

The confusion that existed in the minds of these auditors is similar to the confusion that exists generally among those who have tried to follow current work in the field of behavior. Some, irritated at finding so many views, are able to dismiss the whole matter and interest themselves in something else. Others can easily settle the matter for themselves by becoming bitterly partisan. Still others, unwilling to become partisan, and unable to dismiss so easily what seems to be important, are greatly troubled.

That one is confused and should wish for a simpler situation is understandable. A mother, a school teacher, a judge need not be concerned over the conflict of astronomers as to whether the new "planet" is a planet or not, or the conflict between physicists as to the rightness or wrongness of Einstein, but the conflict of psychologists is a matter that concerns them closely. Yet nothing can be gained by "kicking against the pricks," or by attempting to deceive ourselves as to the difficulties of the situation. The best that any of us can do is to realize that final answers to many questions lie in the future, and that while it is to be regretted that we may not know the whole truth now, and know it to be the truth, in order that we may make full use of it in the solution of current problems, in the development of our own lives, and the lives of our children, we shall, nevertheless, have to forego this, utilizing such knowledge as we have and knowing that much that will eventually be possible in the personal and social life of the individual must be lost to us.

We are called upon to do here, however, no more than what we have to do in many other fields. There is probably little question but that some day the problem of cancer will be solved, and that through the development of a serum or some other agent, cancer patients will be saved for years of continued usefulness. In our time, however, most victims of cancer must still die comparatively early. This is so well recognized that at the threat of a death from cancer anger is not exhibited against the plodding workers nor is what is known about cancer thrown out the window. One's interest in the conflicts and disagreements between investigators is often increased. One may even be grateful that although the cancer specialists have not yet been able to offer anything "constructive" that will save our patient, they have saved us many false moves by destroying old witch views, methods and treatments that have no basis in fact. Our patient dies, and we contribute to the funds that make further work in the field of cancer possible.

The disagreements between workers in the field of human behavior and the current confusions and difficulties they cause are not to be minimized. But the important thing is the relative unimportance of this situation. That Freud disagrees with Jung, and that Rank disagrees with Freud—important as this is in one sense—is a very minor matter in a more important sense. What is important is the significance of these men themselves. And their significance lies in *what* they are doing, not in the immediate *accuracy* of anything that they are doing, and their importance and significance would remain the same even though eventually it should turn out that their views, their hypotheses, and theories were very largely wrong. Modern work in the field of human behavior is but a part of a much larger whole and an understanding of the relationship of that part to the whole will do more to lessen our confusion than the understanding of any detail of the part or any assurance that we may have as to the correctness of a detail.

Difficult as the present confusion is for those of us who must live out our lives in it, nevertheless it has its compensations. The wish is not infrequently expressed that one might have lived at an earlier period when some particular feature of life was in its flower, or when some

To the common reader, parent, teacher, even psychiatrist, the whole view of our newer knowledge of human behavior seems obscured at times by a very jungle of conflicting claim and counter-claim. Here Dr. Williams traces the basic current common to all the new psychologies—the effort to apply to people and the building of their personal and social lives the principles of science on which we already have built the outward aspects of our modern civilization. For here, he points out, not in the present differences or even mistakes, lies the significance of the approaching "struggle to the death between two great historical forces," and our share in "one of the most extraordinary series of events in all of time."

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important course of events was at its beginning, and when to have taken part in these early struggles would seem to have been particularly satisfying. In our own time, however, we shall have the opportunity to watch and to be a part of one of the most extraordinary series of events in all of time. For in our time will come a struggle to the death between two great historical forces. The preliminary battles which reverberated throughout the world and were considered gigantic in their time were fought out several generations ago. These, however, were but preliminary skirmishes. The main battle has now begun, and we shall live to see much of it although probably not its end. This main battle will be fought out not in the field of physics or chemistry or bacteriology but in a field in which all are concerned because it is so much a part of all of us, and therefore in a field in which more bitter fighting may be expected than in any other—the field of psychology if we use the term in its larger sense, or better still, in the field of human behavior.

MEN have always made observations. They began by noting what they could see, feel, touch, hear, taste, smell, and having made note they early made judgments in regard to these things and built up hypotheses and theories to explain them. It was a long time, however, before men learned that their own eyes and ears and other sense organs might not report accurately because they were themselves imperfect instruments; that to observe accurately requires instruments of finer precision, or instruments of greater power. To develop these took a long, long time. But although man did not have accurate recording instruments within himself (eyes, ears) and did not have yet any instruments of precision that he had created himself, he did have something of a mind and could "think." It was quite necessary in organizing even his crude life that following such observations as he could make he should "think," and arrive at some judgment and explanation.

Pushed by necessity, ability to "think" far outstripping ability to observe, men did think, and there was devised in these primitive days what we now know as deductive reasoning, a method which begins not with what we could call today an observation but with a premise, the assumption that certain things are true—if all men are free and equal then follows this and this and this. By reasoning logically from the premise one arrives at certain conclusions which, again, are not themselves checked by further observations but in turn are assumed to be true if the reasoning from the premise has been logical. This method was all that man had by which to explain himself, his universe, his relationship to others and to his universe, and out of which to arrive at conclusions in regard to his own conduct and the conduct of others and to formulate rules and regulations for the conduct of himself and others (for his social organization). Not for thousands of years did another method of reasoning diametrically opposed to this come to play any importance in the world even though its rudiments probably existed from the beginning. Inductive reasoning had to wait until such time as man could begin to make more accurate observations.

TO reason inductively man began in a sense without reasoning at all. He began by observing. He recorded his observations. He proceeded to check the observations to find out under what conditions this observation would be true and under what conditions not true. By careful observation checked and rechecked he arrived at what he could believe to be a fact. Having established a series of "facts" he might develop an hypothesis that would tend to explain such a series of facts. In the building of this working hypothesis he too would reason deductively but with the all important difference that he had started with a series of established facts and that his conclusion (hypothesis) was only tentative and for the purpose of further checking his facts. He did not assume that his hypothesis was correct. The hypothesis itself must, by a series of experiments, be checked at all points. Sometimes it turned out that he was wrong, then it became necessary for him to go back and reobserve and recheck. Having carefully, step by step, arrived at certain hypotheses he might build these into a theory that would tend to explain a still larger series of facts. But for all this, new experiments and often more accurate instruments had to be devised. A man in his lifetime might often make nothing more than a beginning. A hundred years has sometimes passed before a more accurate instrument could be developed that would make the necessary observations possible. But so men worked and accurate observation and inductive reasoning became an important instrument in helping man to understand something of his universe and to bring under his control some of the forces that existed in that universe.

In the meantime, however, man's social world had been organized through the process of deductive reasoning. While men grubbed for the simplest as yet unestablished facts, other men had everything explained, for there already existed systems of philosophy and of metaphysics, religion with its theology, law, codes of morals, systems of ethics. These, of course, could be nothing more than what able men could, starting with certain premises, think about life or reason about life. Much of it was so acknowledged, although there were many instances when these views, laws, and systems were announced as coming from some supernatural being, the god now having one name and now another. So unimportant was inductive reasoning at the time that it could live without discomfort in a deductively built world. There came a time, however, when facts and the reasoning built upon them became a challenge to explanations built upon nothing more tangible than logic. Without weighing the matter, the name of Copernicus comes as a convenient representative of that time.

IF we were to diagram what has taken place and is still taking place, we could think of two parallel lines coming down from the top of the page, the one a heavy dark line which we would label deduction and the other a very unimportant line scarcely traceable in the beginning but somewhere past the middle of the page becoming discernible, although nothing like as dark as the first line. This latter line we will call induction. Somewhere below the middle of the page at a point we shall call Copernicus these lines begin to diverge, the light line becoming heavier and heavier, diverging far off to the right corner of the page, the left heavy line diverging sharply to the left toward the left lower corner. The line to the right as it approaches the right lower corner becomes darker and darker, while the line diverging to the left retains its darkness for several inches but gradually becomes fainter as it approaches the left lower corner. At the two corners these two lines are now a page apart, but in reality they are poles apart. Along the left hand line has come our philosophy of a certain kind, our religions

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of today, our codes of laws and morals, and our system of ethics. Along the right hand line has come our science of physics, of chemistry, of astronomy, of electro-dynamics, biology, physiology, histology, and pathology.

As one can see at a glance, the situation at the bottom of the page is almost a complete reversal of the situation at the top of the page. Two hundred years ago men lived in an almost complete deductive world. Today man lives in a world built almost entirely inductively. Practically everything that he does and everything that he does it with in his home, in his office, in his community has been made possible by induction, from the food he eats and its abundance and variety, to the work he does, the recreation he enjoys, the illnesses from which he is recovered, and the prevention of illnesses that he does not even know. The world as he knows it would not exist except through induction. This is true of every department of his life except one—how he himself behaves. At this point alone—and it is a point which is of the greatest importance to him—does deductive reasoning as a method of explanation play an important part in his life. At this point, whether an individual's conduct is good or bad, we are still asked to fall back upon for explanation a system of reasoning that has failed us at every other point, and find our explanation not as we would in any other activity through observation and induction but in philosophy, religion, laws, morals, and ethics, built up from premise through logic.

Here lies our confusion.[1] And herein lies the significance of the work of those engaged in a modern study of behavior. That these individuals differ in what they report as having observed, that their methods are at variance, that the hypotheses and theories they construct out of what they believe they observe do not agree—these things have almost no importance compared to the fact that these workers refuse the explanation of premise and logic alone and insist upon the right to study human behavior, and to arrive at such explanations as they can through observation and experimentation.[2]

THE last great contest between these two forces was in the time of Darwin and of Pasteur. The principles involved in these two tremendous conflicts have now been established, and have found their development in the fields of biology and the medical sciences. Using the same principles that were then so vigorously fought over, the work of men in various biological and medical fields is not only approved but appreciated and utilized by even the most partisan "fundamentalist." When it comes to a question of behavior, however, these latter and many others, who would not consider themselves "fundamentalists" in religion, retire to the strongholds of religion, ethics, and morals. For the very reason that behavior concerns us all so much more intimately than biological ancestry or bacteria, it is to be expected that as the trained observer approaches these citadels there will be a contest more vigorous than those over Darwin and Pasteur.

ALL we have received in the teaching of standards, codes, beliefs, laws, has a deductive ancestry. Observation and induction are pushing in at these points. In the conflicts aroused some are trying to ride both horses at the same time. Held emotionally to certain standards, codes, and beliefs on the one hand, they are trying on the other hand to be honest in the facing of facts as they are observed. Emotionally, they still hold to beliefs which intellectually they cannot accept. An effort is made to solve the conflict in different ways:

Old concepts may be modified—new wine in old bottles—literal interpretations versus some other kind of interpretations. This is a method that has been used a great deal by churchmen. X meant and has always meant a certain thing. What was meant is no longer socially acceptable. Therefore, instead of casting it out as an historically important but mistaken view, it is decided that it never did mean what clearly it has been supposed to mean, but something else; in other words, that a literal interpretation cannot be made. But such a change has come about not through any new facts which show that the former accepted meaning was not the former accepted meaning (sometimes this is the case) but from the need to settle a conflict within the individual—which, of course, has nothing to do with the question at issue. Emotionally tied to the term he must keep it, but as it cannot be kept because it is untenable he keeps the term by deciding it means something else which is more tenable, at least for the time being. A process, of course, of eating one's cake and having it too.

An analogous situation in the field of science would be something somewhat as follows: Let us say that the word X at the time it was first used was defined in accordance with the facts known at that time. It is found that this term as so defined is offensive to many people. One might then say "Oh, well, don't be disturbed. It really doesn't mean that. It means this," naming something acceptable. Here the change has been made *not* to accommodate new facts in relation to X but to accommodate feelings of others—facts, but facts that have no bearing on X. When there is a change in really scientific hypothesis, what happens is that upon further investigation new facts are found that require either that the definition be modified in accordance with them or that the concept and the word be given up entirely.

A second method of solving the conflict aroused by a belief which one cannot give up nor yet justify inductively is seen when, irritated by the conflict (the challenge to one's security) one puts the blame on the division of opinion among the scientists. Such a person complains that there is no agreement, that he can't make any sense out of it all, and that his conflict is due to the fact that he does not know what to accept. He becomes excessively bitter toward "science" thereby dodging the fact that the more important elements of the conflict lie within himself. Or he may settle his internal conflict in (*Continued on page* 160)

[1] The effort in an inductive world to understand our own conduct and the conduct of others on a deductive basis arouses conflicting currents within ourselves. Our relation to the inductive world in which we live is not alone mechanical. It is not we in the presence of machinery. The significance and the meaning of the machinery has become a part of ourselves. We ourselves think in the terms of these things. All about us, we see the efforts to solve problems in the home, in business, in the social circle by analyzing them, by getting at their component parts, by experimentation, and we utilize the same methods ourselves in our daily contacts with life. It is such a part of us that we do not question it; it appears as just common sense. When, then, we are faced with a problem of conduct, it is not surprising that even in the minds of those who have never concerned themselves with these matters, there is a wrench in the mental machinery, a vague uneasiness as of something wrong, which may easily become a confusion, when instead of the methods commonly used in the solving of problems, authority and assumption alone are found available.

[2] I have mentioned here as examples of these workers men in the field of psychoanalysis. This is merely because, having cut more deeply into certain aspects of life and having thereby aroused so much comment they are more generally known. There are of course many trained observers in the field of human behavior working with a variety of methods and techniques. The progress of the industrial psychologist is of particular interest. He faced in the beginning the same obstacles that still confront others. Employers "knew" men, how to employ them, to promote them, to discharge them and to manage them in the best interests of the men and of themselves. They "knew" this as the lawyer knows it or the moralist knows it. But their knowledge didn't seem to work and as *failure was expensive*, psychologists were permitted to study, observe and experiment with the men the employers "knew" all about in an effort really to learn something about them. The results are well known. Lawyers and moralists have not yet got to this point. The cost of failure does not press so directly upon them as it presses upon the industrialist.

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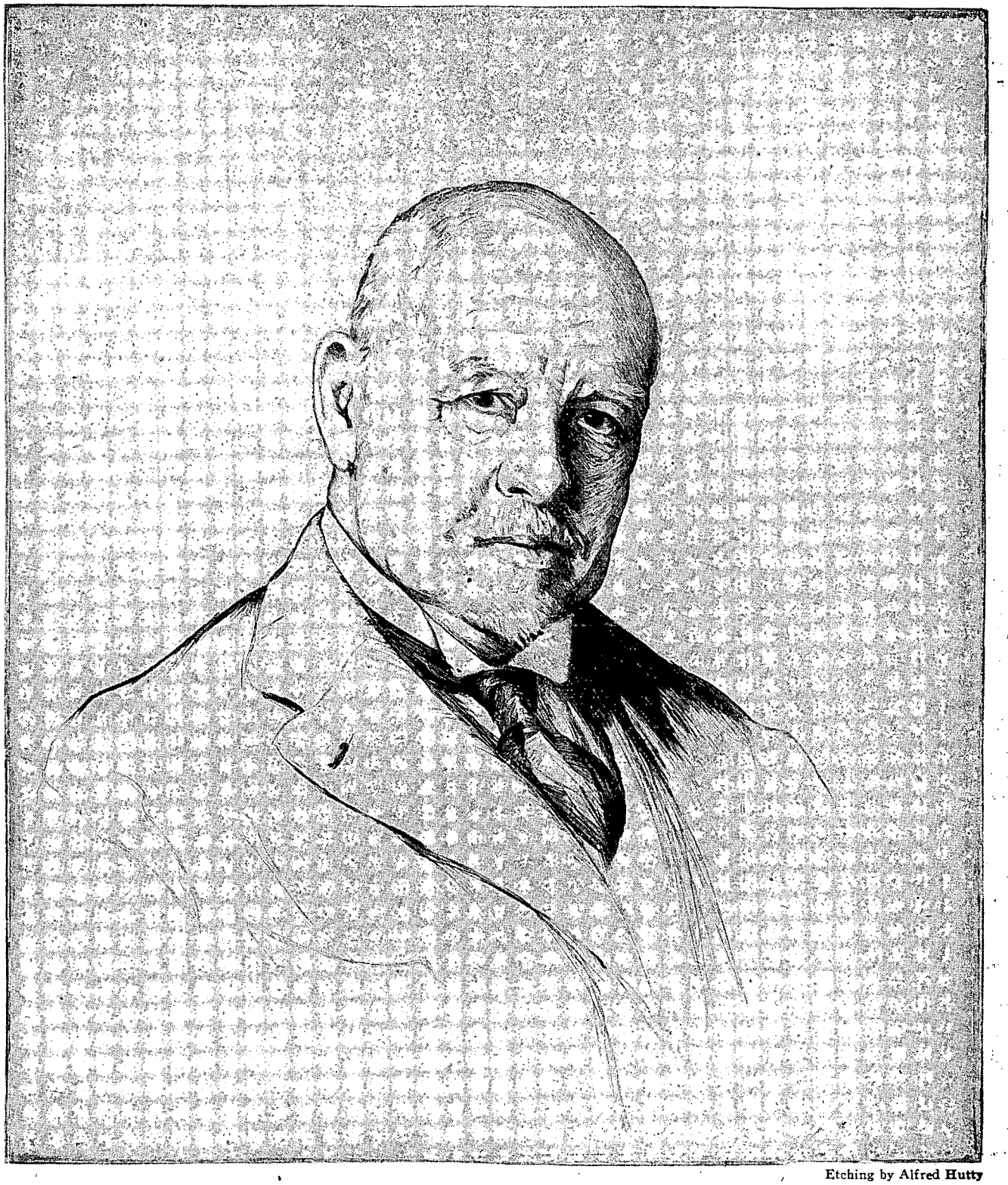

Etching by Alfred Hutty

WILLIAM H. WELCH, M.D.

As one of the first sponsors and now honorary president of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene and of the American Foundation for Mental Hygiene, the "dean of American medicine and public health" has played a continuing part in the movement for man's health in mind. Copies of this dry-point portrait, made for the world-wide celebration of Dr. Welch's eightieth birthday on April 8, have been sent by a group of his friends to forty universities and other institutions with which Dr. Welch's work has been associated in this country, Canada, England, Ireland, Scotland, Switzerland, France, Germany, China and Japan.

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Psychoanalysis and Humankind

By MARTIN W. PECK, M.D.*

THROUGHOUT the western world there appears to be a movement of interest toward the motives and meanings underlying external happenings—a swing of focus from the objective field toward a subjective one. It seems likely that the coming epoch will witness progress of mankind less in the conquering of the physical world and more in the understanding, control and development of what, by contrast, we call the mental life. Into that general movement, more as effect than cause, has come the profoundly new view of humanity disclosed by psychoanalytic psychology. Sigmund Freud, its pioneer and leader, by a series of brilliant investigations was able to drive shafts deep below the level of the conscious mind and reveal a new psychic world previously unknown to science, though partially revealed to poet and philosopher and vaguely sensed through inward stirrings by less articulate mankind in general. The charting of this unexplored region has been the main service of psychoanalysis and furnishes at the least a fairly tangible thread among many elusive and intangible ones, as modern man turns gropingly toward the mysteries of his inner life.

The attitude of many people toward psychoanalysis, colored by certain popular misconceptions, is tinged with suspicion and hostility. Some fear that the new doctrine may influence human thought and behavior in a way to threaten man's high estate and banish him from his hard-earned position among the lesser gods, like a modern Lucifer driven out of heaven; they are apprehensive that psychoanalysis purposes to strip off the veneer of civilization and reveal human beings to be fundamentally a mass of primitive impulses not so different from the rest of the untamed animal world. There is a suspicion that the new psychology will loosen personal inhibitions, break down social conventions and standards built up through the ages for the control of the individual, and, in the role of a twentieth century Pandora, lift the lid from underlying passions.

Some of the responsibility for this suspicion and ensuing defensiveness on the part of so many people, must be laid at the door of psychoanalysis itself. It is true that in the beginning the biological and more simple instinctive foundations of the mental life were emphsaized out of proportion, and as the deeper regions of the mind were revealed from this angle, one might easily be startled by what he found. But this "biological urge" has proved to represent only one side of the picture. It has become equally clear that throughout the whole psychic development there is built up in the individual a structure of ideals and an "inner morality" which have demands no less compelling than that of instinct, and which in the well-developed personality dominate the more elemental features. Thus the inhibition of animal instinct is in great part self-determined and can no more be done away with than instinct itself.

If it is true that social usage and conventions curb and control the more primitive tendencies, it is equally true that something from within man himself has created those social standards. The fact that in a changing world these standards may become so crystallized as to outlive their usefulness does not alter the case. When they are finally discarded a new structure must take their place—an inevitable result of the moral nature of the human psyche. It has been well said that with the aid of the penetrating searchlight that psychoanalysis has directed to the hidden regions of the mind, man has found himself at the same time worse than he feared and better than he dreamed. There is nothing in the doctrine of psychoanalysis to imperil idealism, abolish conscience, or destroy morality.

But in other respects psychoanalysis has done violence to the complacency of human thought and established viewpoints which cannot be explained away as error or misunderstanding. The first disconcerting discovery was that man in literal truth does not know his own mind and has only limited control over it; the second showed that the sexual motive plays an enormously greater part in life than had been realized.

Before psychoanalysis, only the conscious mental life was accessible. With the work in "depth" psychology, more and more the realm of the unconscious mind has been brought into the light of understanding, until it is evident that the conscious is to the unconscious as are small rivulets of overflow to the reservoir from which they spring, or the surface waters of an ocean to the limitless depths concealed below.

Formerly most men naively assumed that if the need arose and they chose to give enough time and effort to the task, they could fathom their own minds, and if what they found did not please, they could change themselves by the use of reason and will. To

A Darwin of the Mind

Freud, like Darwin, has given the world a point of view which not only is new in itself, but which necessitates the restatement of many beliefs which at first-hand would probably seem to have nothing to do with it. I am convinced that all our human sciences will be rewritten in the light of Freud's discovery. Already the social sciences, sociology, economics, and social psychology, are beginning to feel the effects of Freud's world-changing thoughts. To one who is familiar with psychoanalysis many of our preconceived notions about politics and social theory are seen to be mere guess work and many of our prevailing ideals and movements are seen to be very different in motive and character from what they appear on the surface.—Everett Dean Martin, Psychology, Part IV.

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DR. FREUD INTRODUCES A PATIENT TO HER UNCONSCIOUS

The most usual popular misapprehensions about psychoanalysis, to which Dr. Peck refers, are reflected in these entertaining and able drypoints by Will Dyson

that state of serene confidence, the new insight into the deeper processes of unconscious mentality has dealt a stunning blow. It must now be admitted, however reluctantly, that no one can understand himself in a profound way by taking thought any more than he can by the same method add a cubit to his stature. Neither is it possible for him by any amount of self-directed logic or effort to modify appreciably the main tendencies of his mind.

The explanation for this helplessness of conscious thinking in the attempt directly to reach the realm of unconscious is not difficult to grasp. The intellectual functions, i.e., the logical thought processes of mind, are those most available and more nearly under control in consciousness. The gradual freeing of intellect from prejudice and bias has promoted the search for truth in the objective world and made possible the development of natural science. It is by the use of the intellect that the mind of man has been able progressively to harness the material environment for the satisfaction of human needs. The realm of the unconscious mental self, on the other hand, has little connection with logical thought. It is not guided or moved by the intellect. It is in contrast activated by impulse and controlled by feeling values wholly unrelated to intellect, and is therefore in much smaller degree to be understood, measured and directed.

Responsibility for the second blow dealt by psychoanalysis in revealing the full sexual nature of human beings can be divided between the over-sensitiveness of sex-conscious mankind and the over-emphasis and distortion of an important truth by psychoanalysis. Certainly the sexual function is of fundamental importance. Again the scientist has been led by the poet. From the beginning of the written word, the latter has shouted this doctrine from the housetops. Biology tells the same story. Some simple organisms die in reproduction, their goal in life attained. In higher animals, including man, the whole physical development, from birth to maturity, gives to the sexual make-up a central place. In body and mind alike, apparently in order to insure perpetuation of the species, there is an enormous over-concentration of energy and interest in this field. The only way to avoid the ever-present importance of sex in life is to close the eyes tightly and refuse to see.

Yet granting the reluctance of civilized man to face the topic of sex, let it be added in his defense that psychoanalysis has given to it unnecessary and ruthless over-emphasis. In the matter of terminology, it has asked that the concept of sexuality be extended to a degree impossible for the lay mind to follow. From long usage the terms "sex" and "sexuality" have taken on popular connotations centering closely about the physical love relations of men and women. To demand, as does psychoanalysis, that these terms be expanded to include all affectionate relations of human beings, from babe in cradle to indulgent grandparent, is too much to ask, no matter if all these relationships prove to have at the source a common origin. Again, to see in creative genius or humanitarian tendencies the motive of sexual impulses refined and directed toward wider social ends, requires a modification of viewpoint that no one generation can compass. It is fair to believe that a more suitable terminology would in itself do much to relieve a quite natural perplexity and dislike without sacrificing thereby any important truth of the new doctrine.

But there is a more important consideration than the matter of the use of words. Psychoanalysis, as already pointed out, began with a one-sided approach to human nature, or more accurately, so presented its claims to the world that such misinterpretation was inevitable. In the newly discovered realm of the unconscious mind, instinct loomed so large that ego was dwarfed. The sexual motive for the time being obscured the restraint motive. The repressed elements of the psyche seemed so important that the repressing factors were relatively ignored. The modern world repudiates the old Calvinistic doctrine that only the spirit of man is holy and that his flesh is vile. Early psychoanalysis lent itself too readily to the opposite extreme which says that biology alone has the truth and the light and there is no soul.

WHAT psychoanalysis is not leads up naturally to the question of what psychoanalysis is. In popular parlance, the term includes almost anything that is new and unique and radical concerning the mental life. As it is used by the scientific world, it has two separate meanings, and clearness of thought will be promoted if these two meanings are kept distinct. In the first place, psychoanalysis comprises a body of data concerning the mind and an elaborate theoretical construction built upon this data. In this sense it is a science of psychology, seriously handicapped in exactness, to be sure, by the nature of the material with which it deals, and in contrast with older schools and systems, it is essentially a psychology of the unconscious mind. In the second place,

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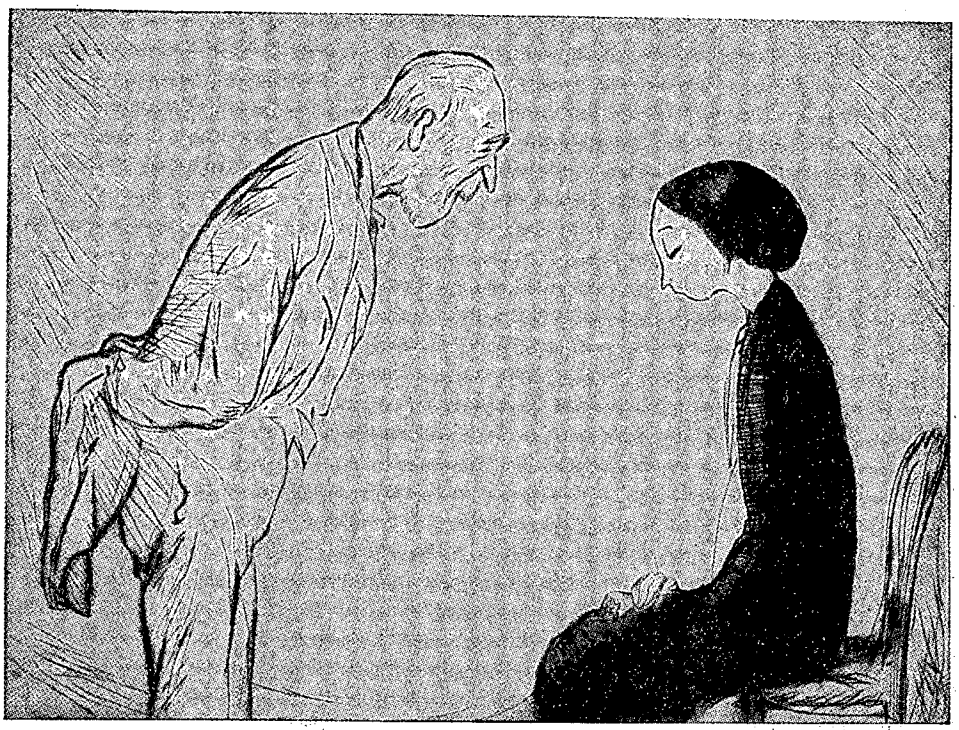
psychoanalysis is the name given to a definite and special method of psychotherapy for the treatment of nervous disorders. In this latter sense it is an art, and a practical application in the field of medicine of psychoanalytic science.

However, psychoanalytic psychology has a far wider concern than with the problem of nervous disorders, which subject may indeed be a minor issue. If its tenets are true in any essential way, then all departments of human thought and activity are to be seen in a more clear and markedly different light than previously. It seems not unlikely that history, philosophy, religion, art and so on, together with social problems and human relations in general will be understood in an entirely new and deeper way on account of the contributions of psychoanalysis, and, indeed, such a revaluation already is under way.



"NAUGHTY! WHO'S BEEN THINKING PURE THOUGHTS AGAIN!"

Not only psychoanalysis, but other intellectual activities, are satirized by this Australian artist, who was once a cartoonist on The London Daily Herald

The history of the development of psychoanalysis has been many times set forth and need not be presented in any detail here. It was from the attempt by Freud, the physician, to relieve ordinary nervous illness that the new psychology had its beginnings and the evolution of psychoanalytic doctrine through four decades has been intimately connected with the modern understanding and treatment of nervous disorders. This story of the development of the present knowledge of the neuroses is as fascinating and as much a conquest of the unknown as any achievement in the history of learning. Step by step, working for the most part alone and in obscurity, Freud toiled on with many discouragements and retracements until he had a body of observed facts sufficient to construct effective working theories.

The study of the human psyche, normal or abnormal, presents enormous difficulties in comparison with the so-called natural sciences. Experiment and exact measurement are impossible. The turbulent mind of the neurotic behind the barrier of familiar symptoms is revealed only by wide indirection and through the medium of language sadly inadequate to convey meaning of the hidden regions below. The first publication of his discoveries was made by Freud in 1895 in collaboration with an older colleague, Joseph Breuer, from whom he had gained the original clue for his researches. In short, the conception presented at that time was far too limited for a general explanation of nervous symptoms, to say nothing of constructing a new psychology, but this original work of the two men stands as the foundation stone on which the present superstructure of psychoanalytic theory and practice has been erected.

Psychoanalytic psychology contains new material, makes radical departures from other viewpoints, and is in many ways distinctive. This distinctive matter may be summarized as follows:

(a) Psychoanalysis deals chiefly with the "unconscious" mental life, maintaining that a major part of mental activity goes on outside the subject's awareness. Supported by what seems sufficient evidence, it is assumed that this unconscious mind consists of two parts. The first includes that which is present in a potential way at birth, brought over in some manner with the germ plasm along with other inherited qualities. The second part is built up from the life experience of the individual and is composed of material much of which has at some time been present in consciousness and later eliminated from one cause or another. Consciousness contains at any given time only a fraction of what is available to it. The term preconscious is applied to mental content not at the moment conscious, but which can be brought back on demand. Attention sharply limits the field of consciousness to one or a few matters at a time, with obvious advantages. Attention is like a searchlight which focuses on one spot with some shading-off on all sides to complete darkness. If the place lighted up is called the conscious mind, then all the dark area round-about which can be reached by the searchlight is preconscious. To bring the unconscious into the simile, there would have to be added subterranean vaults and cellars, where no ray of light can penetrate. Unconscious mentality, then, in the psychoanalytic meaning, concerns only that matter which the unaided individual is powerless to grasp by any effort.

(b) Repression is established as a central psychologic mechanism, meaning by repression a purposeful omission or elimination of material from consciousness. In normal states this mechanism disposes of what is unnecessary and inconvenient for consciousness. In abnormal states, it takes care of what is intolerable and unsolvable by consciousness. The difference between healthy and pathologic repression is chiefly one of degree. Healthy repression is a mechanism for efficient management of childish and asocial qualities which are common to all. Pathologic repression comes into play under special need and is used to evade tendencies which are so potent and in such crude contrast to anything acceptable by consciousness that they cannot be disposed of by

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more constructive means. In both cases the material repressed remains in the unconscious. In the former it is integrated into the structure of the mental organization and is compatible with health. In the latter it remains unassimilated, is a source of inner mental disharmony, and is often the basis of neurosis and other maladjustments.

In the special emphasis on the pathological features of this mechanism, incident to a study of nervous disorders, the advantages of normal repression have been neglected. The conscious mind may be looked upon as a special agency to deal with an uncertain and often dangerous environment. As soon as adjustment of organism to environment becomes perfected in any field, there is no more need of special supervision and the conscious mind is set free for other business. A good part of body functioning and the major proportion of the business of life in general is, so to speak, mentally delegated to the unconscious. This is not done by a destruction of psychic factors previously in operation, but by the process of repression they are transferred to other regions of the mind.

(c) Psychoanalysis recognizes unconscious mental conflict as at once a factor in character development and beyond certain limits a source of psychic difficulties. The conception that such conflict may go on completely outside the conscious grasp of the individual is distinctive to psychoanalysis and fundamental to the modern consideration both of normal psychological development and of the nature and causation of nervous disorders.

(d) There is a new emphasis on infantile and child psychology, again stressing the unconscious features. Appropriate psychologic development at this early period is believed to lay down patterns of reaction which insure satisfactory adult adjustments. On the other hand, failure in the solution of some basic developmental problems may result in the carrying over of these problems to adulthood as a sort of unfinished business of the past which complicates all later mental reactions.

IN so far as psychoanalytic psychology is a system, it is a psychology of the instincts, or rather the instinctive basis of mental processes, and thereby accepts a biological foundation. Freud postulates two groups of instincts—the sexual, or procreative, and the ego, or self-preservative, the latter comprising those instinctive dispositions which have to do with the maintenance of the individual and his adaptation to society.

In a sense, these two groups are set in opposition, the sexual instincts striving for independent and immediate outlet, the ego instincts molding them to appropriate and useful social expression. From a fundamental biological consideration, the former serve to insure the perpetuation of the race, the latter preserve the individual from destruction in the process. Freud's earlier work dealt mainly with the first or sexual ones. This group is made up of a wide variety of factors, but all are reducible, according to him, to a common denominator which, in the wider sense, is sexual in nature. Psychoanalysis has an energy concept of psychology analogous in a way to the energy concept of physics, and, continuing the parallel, most of the energy manifestations of the psyche are derivatives from one common source, the procreative or sexual energy, designated the libido. In accordance with this concept, the so-called libido theory of Freud was developed as a central theme around which the elaborate structure of psychoanalysis has been built up.

The libido theory is an intellectual scheme constructed in order to bring scattered psychoanalytic doctrine into usable proportions for thinking and talking. If it is accepted simply as a useful working hypothesis to explain facts, then there will be found less reason to quibble or quarrel, and it can be discarded whenever a better theory is brought forward for the same purpose. In hypothesis one must start somewhere. Freud postulated an inherent body of instinct which he called libido. At birth this libido is relatively homogeneous and undifferentiated. Immediately development begins in the way of differentiation and specialization, which goes through an orderly evolution toward maturity until there is attained an instinct organization which operates smoothly in adaptation to the world of reality. All this development goes on under the control and in the service of the ego, as the latter proceeds in its own growth toward adulthood, until in the normal case, instinct is finally brought into harmony with the needs of the mature ego.

THE human being has been described as at birth, psychologically speaking, a mob. In the process of development this mob must be organized into a self-governing state. A popularly elected ego directs its progress. A Utopian organization is seldom attained. Some of the mob protest allegiance to the government, and in the neurotic or otherwise abnormal individual may take up a separate existence and become a disturbing opposition to established authority. On the other hand, a tyrannical or eccentric ego ruler may make demands on its constituents impossible of fulfillment and produce equally unfortunate results.

A fully developed libido organization means a sound personality. To achieve psychological maturity requires, in the libido field, the putting away of childish things. This result does not always occur. Certain poor behavior and attitudes on the part of grown-up people are properly referred to as "childish." What has been revealed by psychoanalysis as never before is that in the unconscious mind, far below the level of observable behavior, there may persist other childishness in the form of faulty stages of libido development, which seriously handicap the capacity of the individual for usefulness, health and happiness.

Illustrations are legion. In the political or social field the radical and reactionary of the uncompromising type furnish a double example. Ostensibly the former hates evil and injustice, while the latter stresses the virtues of the existing order. A deeper study discloses more important factors hidden alike from the individuals themselves and their associates. It seems clear that neither of these extremists has gained emancipation from the family bondage of childhood. Long after the reality situation has ceased to exist, each in his own way is engaged in an adolescent struggle against parental authority. Both reactionary and radical are controlled by unresolved attitudes toward the dominating and disciplinary influences of the childhood past from which they have never been able to free themselves and for which the state, church and vested authority in general are substituted.

The reactionary is governed by fear and clings to these bulwarks of support for protection from dangers which lie mainly within himself. The radical is moved by hate and defiance and fights stubbornly against a subjection which has little reality except as he lives over again the unfinished struggles for independence (*Continued on page* 165)

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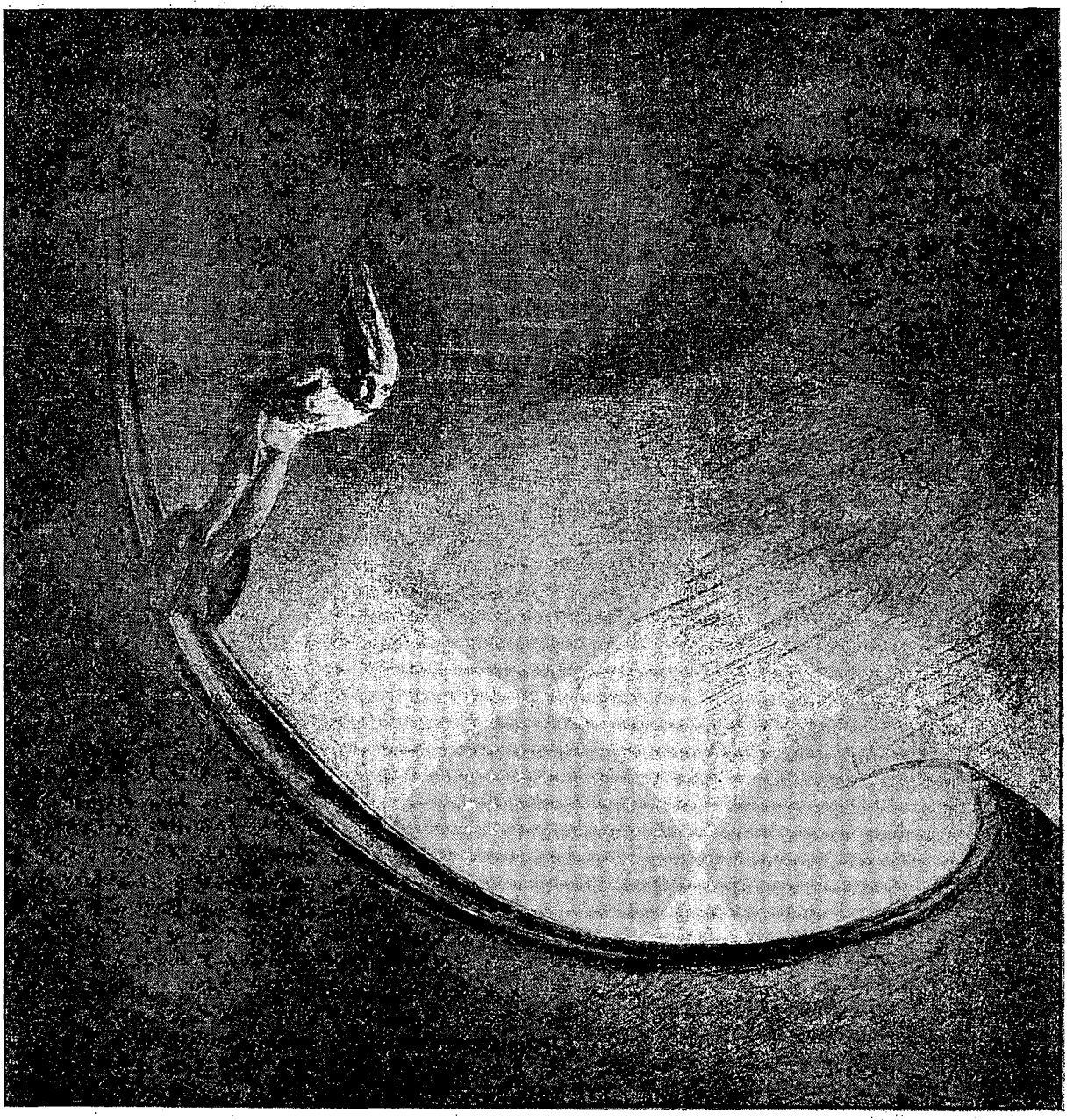

MAN

The "Case History" of Alfred Kubin

NO one can look at Alfred Kubin's work without speculation about the artist. What lies behind his grim and demonic fantasies? There exists in German an autobiographical sketch that, being amazingly forthright, would be meat for the psychiatrist. A robust, simple father, rarely at home; a nervous young mother, soon to die of consumption; a solitary childhood by the shores of a mountain lake and in the Austrian forest; an imagination fed by fairy tales, nature stories, the ceremony of the dark, Gothic church. As a small child he began to draw—weird animals, magicians, landscapes aflame or storm-tossed, wrecks, street brawls. The sensitive ten-year-old's first, indelible glimpse of death, that of his mother; his father, in uncontrolled grief, walking wildly about the house with the dead body in his arms.

Two step-mothers thereafter, and other children, exemplary children among whom he proved a strange duckling. Sent away to school; sent away in his teens to be apprentice to a photographer; unsupervised evenings. After a dose of dissipation, avid reading of the pessimistic philosophers. At this time he became an easy subject for the public hypnotist; he attempted suicide; in a short time he was in the hospital in what he designates as a delirium that lasted for several months. As he improved he was engrossed by the sick, the dying, the would-be suicides about him.

It was then that a family friend pointed out his artistic potentialities. With a little inheritance that had come to him he was permitted to go to Munich to study art, and there for the first time saw pictures other than those in the church and in the family journals. He gives an amazing account of how his future subjects came to him in a vision, one night at a variety theater, when he suddenly found audience and performers taking on the aspect of puppets and strange animals. He poured out these apparitions on paper. His macabre drawings began to take hold just as his funds gave out.

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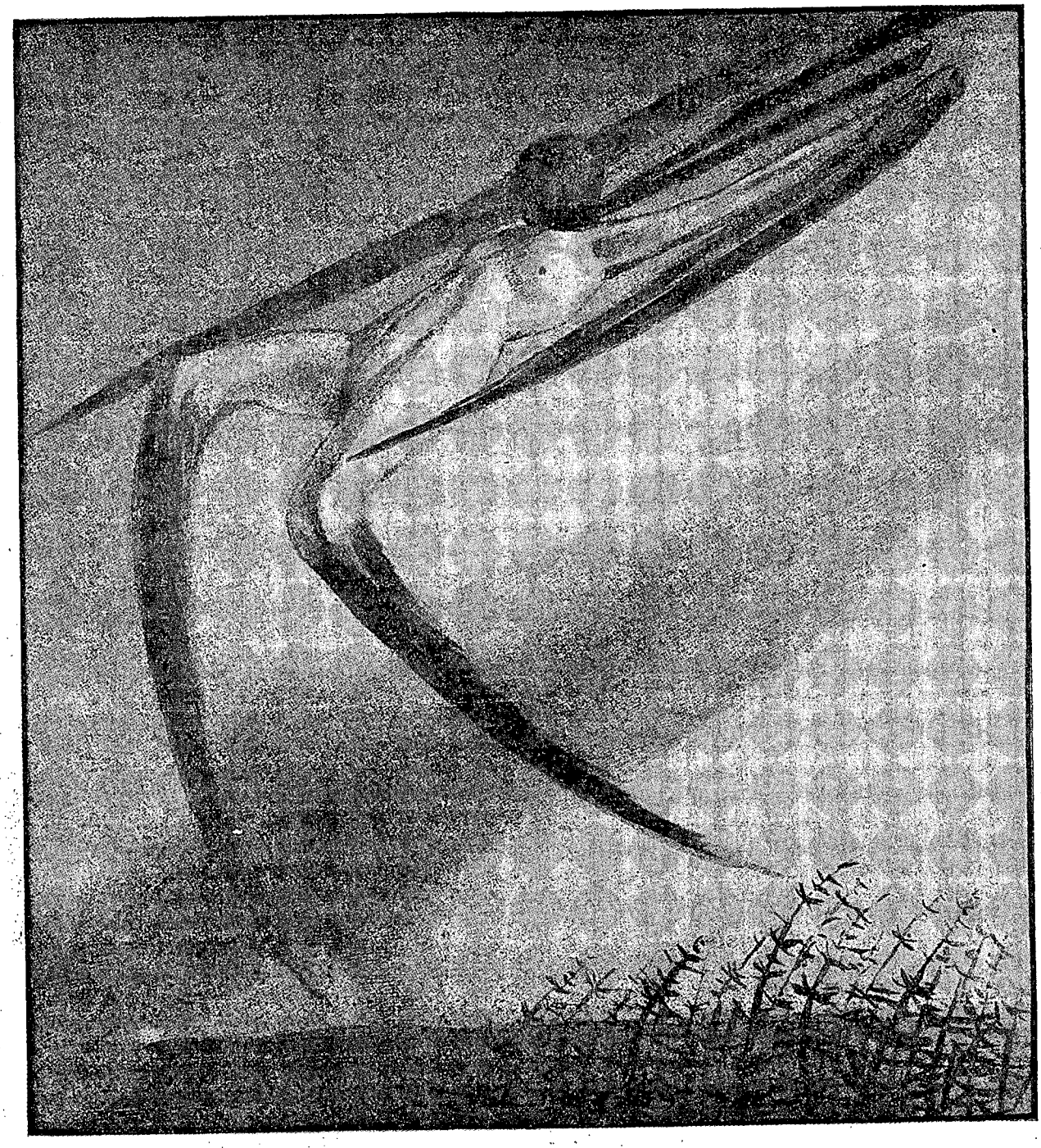

EVERY NIGHT A DREAM COMES TO US

Kubin inevitably became the illustrator for German editions of such writers as Poe, Hoffmann, Dostoievsky, Strindberg. Many portfolios of his lithographs and drawings have been published; their nature is told by the titles: On the Rim of Life, the Seven Deadly Sins, Death at Work, the Peep Show. The lithographs reproduced on these three pages are from a volume, Demons and Night Visions, published by the Carl Reissner Verlag, of Dresden.

TERROR

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MADNESS

THE SIN

In his middle years Kubin still reads philosophy with the eager curiosity that others give to romances; still broods over the finality of death as his friends pass away; still has periods of nervous dejection, when his actions are inexplicable both to himself and his devoted wife; has feverish illnesses which provide new work subjects. To escape the incredible years of war and inflation, he took up Buddhist philosophy for a while. He reviews these crises with humor in more natural moments, and continues to create a realm of fantasy wherein, he says, lies for him all happiness, all sorrow.

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Potent Leisure

By ELLIOTT DUNLAP SMITH

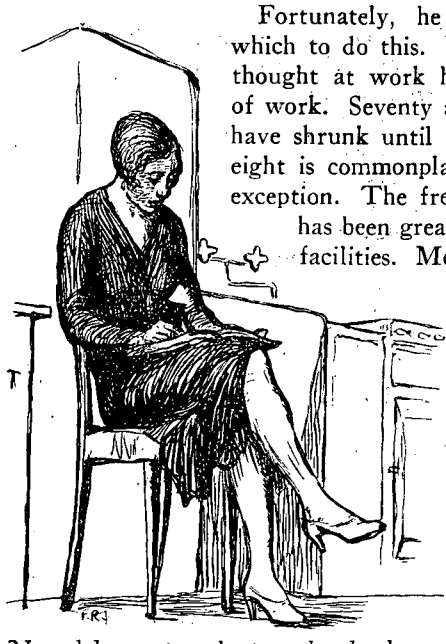
Drawings by Fermin Rocker

Housekeeping used to mean long hours of labor after the workingday

WORK isn't what it used to be; even less, is leisure. Compared with a generation ago, the worker's hours of work are less; his hours of leisure much more. His job requires less judgment to do well; his leisure requires more judgment to use well. Out of the changing job have arisen new problems of leisure. Because of the sterile job, leisure has taken on a new importance.

Standardization is increasingly driving out judgment from work. It is no longer only the machine that creates the high-speed, low-thought job. Standardization has reached to hand work and even clerical work. For example, the carcass of a pig, steer, or sheep has as yet resisted mechanical manipulation. Animals, unlike automobiles, do not run true enough to type to fit the gauges of machines. Yet watch an assembly line at Ford's, and then watch a dissection line at Armour's. You will see the same "mechanization" of the worker on both. At the Ford plant, an employe screws a single bolt home as an engine passes on a belt; at Armour's, he cuts a single slice as a carcass passes on a belt. Again, again, and again—always the same act, always the same way.

In the modern factory or office each task is studied by experts. Every occasion for considered judgment is foreseen and provided for. The best way is worked out. Thereafter the job of the worker is confined to a "standard practice" which leaves him no opportunity to stop at his work and think. More skill may be involved but the element of independent judgment is less. Where standardization has gone far, a man can earn a livelihood at his work, but he can't earn a "living." If he is to make a living out of his existence, he must do it after hours.



Now laborsaving devices do the heavy work and the problem is — leisure

Fortunately, he has more time in which to do this. With less chance for thought at work have come less hours of work. Seventy and more hour weeks have shrunk until in many states forty-eight is commonplace and fifty-four the exception. The free time thus provided has been greatly increased by home facilities. Men still at work today can remember when, after a twelve-hour day, they had to walk miles to get home, had the wood to split and bring in, the water to pump and carry in, and slops to carry out. Their sisters, after work, had to help with dressmaking, washing, breadbaking, and the other tasks of cooking. But now with central heat, running water, inside toilets, coal or even gas stoves, baker's bread, canned goods, ready-made clothes, and sometimes even vacuum cleaners, washing machines and Fords, the tasks that had filled their scant leisure hours are largely gone.

After the factory whistle blows, the employes are soon home. Almost none of them walk any distance. Besides riding in streetcars, an employe who has far to go can rent a seat in a fellow-worker's car, or buy a car and support it by renting seats in his. I once knew a group of girls who, when the factory moved to a town fifteen miles distant, stayed in the "home town" and drove to work in a big Cadillac car. It was a seven-seater. Its age was uncertain, but its antiquity certain. So the investment was small. One of the girls had a brother who fitted it up and kept it fit. Thus they arrived quickly, comfortably, and with style, yet no one paid much over the trolley fare. Home, even in the rural districts, is now rarely more than a few minutes from work.

WHEN the employes get home they "grab a bite and are all set for the evening." It takes but a few minutes to shell peas or prepare soup with a can-opener, and ready-made clothes are cheap. Often even the baby is no obstacle to the freedom of the young married couple. I have known several who found it cheaper for both to work and to support their mother at home. This left their evenings entirely free. Through one means or another, for most of the younger employes and many of the older, true leisure begins almost when the factory work ends.

With more free time have come considerably more free funds. Many things that were formerly bought as necessities are now bought as luxuries. Shirts, for example, are a necessity. At the opening of the century, workmen bought them as such—dark blue, hickory stripe, or black, and of rough, strong material. Today they still buy shirts, but slightly increased funds enable them to consider more than bare utility. Percales, madras, broadcloths, and even silks, elaborate prints, warp stripes, jacquard fancies, and rayon mixtures are worn on the street and even at work. And so with working dresses. One does not have to be beyond early middle age to recall the day of the blue serge working dress and the gingham apron. Yet today they are almost

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gone. The girls in the modern shop dress for style and in doing so exercise a wide range of choice. As soon as spending power permits buying for more than bare utility, the opportunity for choice rapidly multiplies.

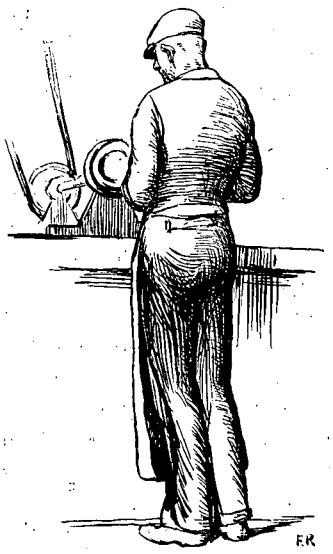
This same increase in range of choice has come to the spending of time as well as of funds. Formerly the few minutes of leisure left after an arduous day had to be expended on rest. Today the hours of leisure are so ample that rest has become a secondary consideration. Time need no longer be spent on a bare utility basis nor confined to things near home that take little time to do. The range of possibilities open to workers when they look out on a free evening after work includes almost every sort of recreation from lectures to shows, athletic contests to dances, and as someone usually has a car, they can also take in anything that appeals to them in a neighboring town.

Entire evenings and week-ends, free alike from factory work and home chores, do not merely provide more time in which the worker is exposed to the old leisure temptations and opportunities. They create entirely new temptations and opportunities, far greater and wholly different than before.

From being a necessary rest period in a working life, leisure thus has become a large and free part of a life that no longer can be fulfilled at work. It has been made potent for good, and by the same factors potent for evil. It cannot be repudiated nor cast aside. Whether desired or not, whether for good or ill, the influence of leisure exerts itself. In no very remote times, "innocent leisure" was a common ideal. Today, innocent leisure is inadequate. If leisure is to make the life of the worker significant, it must be more than innocent; it must be constructive. When the opportunity for self-direction and self-expression have been removed from work, when free time has expanded from minutes to evenings and full weekends, leisure is too powerful to be merely innocent.

Yet industry in creating a potent leisure has provided no influences for its constructive use. People who for eight hours a day follow a standard practice without creative thought, find the undertaking of unaccustomed constructive activity after hours, hard work, not leisure. Besides, the habits formed at work exert their influence after work is over. The shop pattern tends to become the leisure pattern. A group of night workers I once knew spent their midnight hour, after a hasty lunch, in driving about in their cars. At work they adjusted machines and kept them running; at play they adjusted machines and kept them running. And so with case after case. One routine clerk I knew was so utterly at a loss to employ his leisure without artificial routine diversion that he took in a movie regularly every night. As there were only six possibilities a week in town, on Sundays he took a train to the next town to insure a seventh. The man who taught me the routine work of card punching had been on it for years. While I was with him, a mass meeting was held to organize a Works Council. I asked him if he was going. He said he was not: he didn't see why the workers had to bother with such problems when the management was paid to do the thinking. The constructive use of leisure calls, above all else, for breadth and originality of mind. The influence of the modern job is, above all else, narrowing and deadening to initiative.

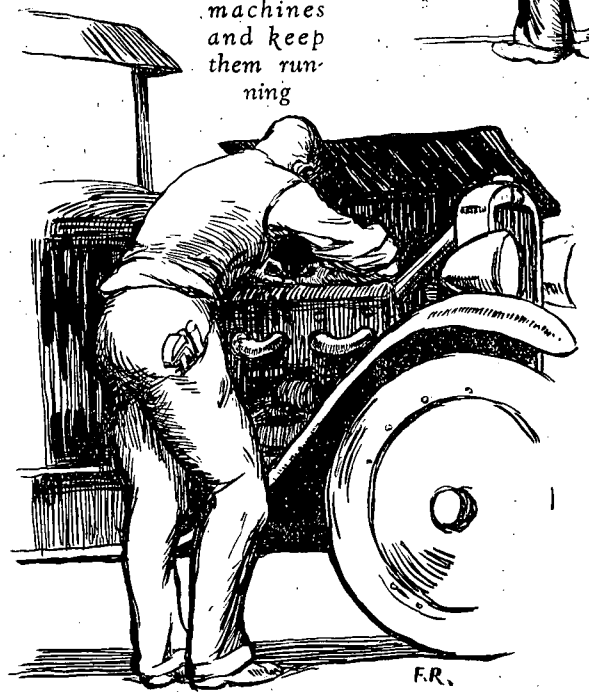
So also is the influence of many modern leisure facilities. To turn on the radio or to sit at a movie, while often a wholesome diversion and rest, may call for as little independent judgment and constructive activity as operating a machine. The "snappy stories," whether in magazine or book form, that can be bought at every corner require little response from the reader and do little to expand his mind. Even the automobile, which has done so much in getting those people who have developed leisure interests "there and back," provides little opportunity for self-expression when, as so often happens, it is used as an end in itself. Particularly pathetic are the much advertised educational futilities that turn the desire of the worker for self-education into sterile channels.



Commercial exploitation does not stop at merely futile leisure pursuits. Not to mention the more vicious temptations, movies and short stories are often unwholesome in their influence. The automobile provides a means of getting to evil and back, as well as to good. Degrading and futile leisure pursuits, alike, are set before the worker in bright display with all the efficiency of modern salesmanship and the appeal of modern advertising.

To resist the temptations of leisure the present-day worker, especially the youth, is strikingly unequipped. Free time, like free funds, requires skill and experience to use well. The crudeness and blunders of the newly rich or newly leisured unaided by wholesome traditions are proverbial. Yet the worker is wholly without such traditions. Workers haven't enjoyed leisure long enough to have developed them. Besides, in company with the youth of all classes, the young worker has lost faith in traditions, conventions and authority of all sorts. Neither the church nor the home any longer fills its former place as a guide to conduct. The conventions of personal conduct of the past have been shaken by the same forces that have shaken the dogmas of theology. A glance at pictures of factory work-

At work they adjust machines and keep them running—at play they adjust machines and keep them running



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Involuntary leisure, unemployment, is the most dangerous kind of all

ers of a generation ago and now gives ample evidence of how standards of modesty in dress, for example, have changed. Nor are the changes in other standards less. The older workers are often as baffled by the new conditions as the young. Yet, as so often, in their anxiety to help the blind they attempt to lead, even to drive, the blind. Again and again, young people find themselves in a perplexity. What seems right to them seems shocking to their parents. They honestly believe that the old standards are priggish. They sense that complete absence of standards is disastrous. What often perplexes them most is that while they cannot accept the old standards, they can find no sound basis for the new. Great as the benefits of the new freedom may ultimately be, the fact remains that at the present, when the problems of self-guidance have become unprecedentedly great, the standards of the past have worn thin before new standards have been wrought by the slow hammer of experience or adequate traditions of self-guidance have developed.

In times of industrial unemployment, the problems of leisure are at their worst. Unemployment is none the less leisure because the free time which it provides is involuntary and unwelcome. When a man is out of work, temptations to debasing leisure activities are augmented by depression and the desire to drown his woes. He thirsts for activity of any sort that will divert his mind from his condition. The problem of finding wholesome leisure activities is also multiplied by the extensiveness of his free time. It is one thing to employ well a few hours of leisure a day. It is far different to find wholesome occupation for entire days, one after another, especially as the days stretch out into weary, discouraging weeks. After the roof is shingled, the floor varnished, and the other jobs that fill the first days of idleness are done; after the funds that such jobs require are gone, the problem of finding wise activity to fill the long forced inactivity becomes acute. Under such conditions, especially with the absence of accepted standards and authority, temptations to unwholesome, often to vicious activity, have almost irresistible appeal. Small wonder that in times of unemployment, workingmen's families dread the consequences of having their men out of work almost as much as they dread being out of funds.

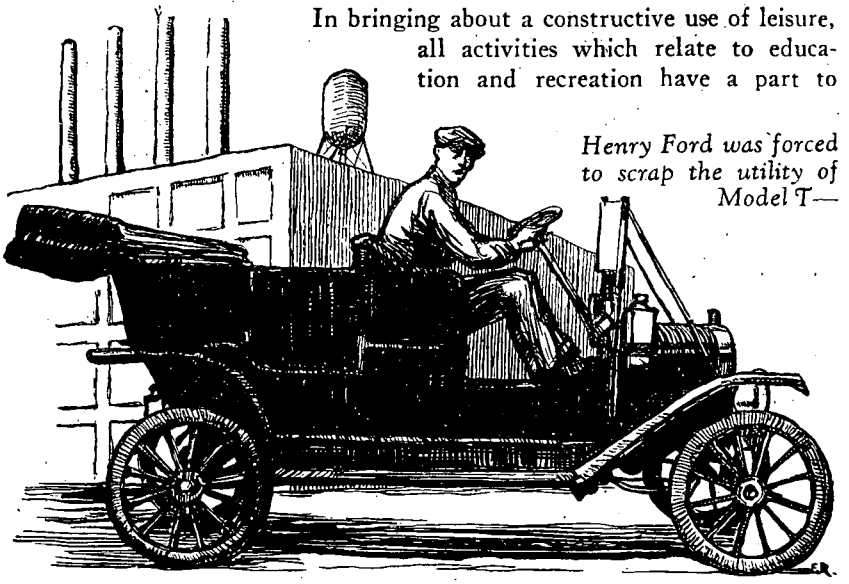
I had this strikingly brought home to me a few years ago when I spoke at a joint meeting of a men's club and a women's club. Most of the men were union shoe workers. Most of the women were wives of the men. I opened the meeting by asking a question: "Which would you rather have for yourself or your husband, a steady job earning $1,500 a year where there was work fifty weeks each year, or a job where the wages were so high that each year the average earnings were about $1,700 even though each year there were on the average five or six weeks of unemployment?" To my surprise, I got an almost unanimous vote in favor of the $1,500 job from both men and women. I asked the women why. One of them said in broken English, "Vell, I say it vit my husband here, ven he is out of vork he is a bum." Another woman said, "A man out of work costs money to keep straight. He can't just do nothing. Without cash to blow in on a show or something, he gets in trouble." And so on, woman after woman in the presence of the men. When I turned to the men, they added in support of the women's stories that "it's rotten to be out on the street." At the close of the meeting, the organizer of the local union got up and said, "Now I'll tell you something. If the manufacturers could cut out unemployment, the unions could cut out most strikes." Even more than voluntary leisure, involuntary leisure has dangers.

Leisure, then, unquestionably has become potent: potent because it is the worker's hope of making life significant; potent because it has become too large a factor in the worker's life not to influence his whole being.

The course of industrial development for a long time to come will, if anything, be in the direction of greater standardization and shorter hours. The responsibility of leisure for making the worker's life constructive will continue. The influence of leisure over his character will increase. The temptations of leisure will continue to exist. Although in the long run there can be no final solution that does not restore a constructive character to the job, the problem of the well-being and development of industrial workers will for some time be largely a problem of the use of leisure. How then, in the face of present-day difficulties can a constructive use of leisure be brought about?

Clearly the path lies neither through prohibition nor regulation. The new power of leisure is too great to be handled by attempting to hedge it in. Besides, prohibition or regulation, even if successfully enforced, would fall short of the mark. It is constructive, not innocent leisure, that is needed.

In bringing about a constructive use of leisure, all activities which relate to education and recreation have a part to



Henry Ford was forced to scrap the utility of Model T—

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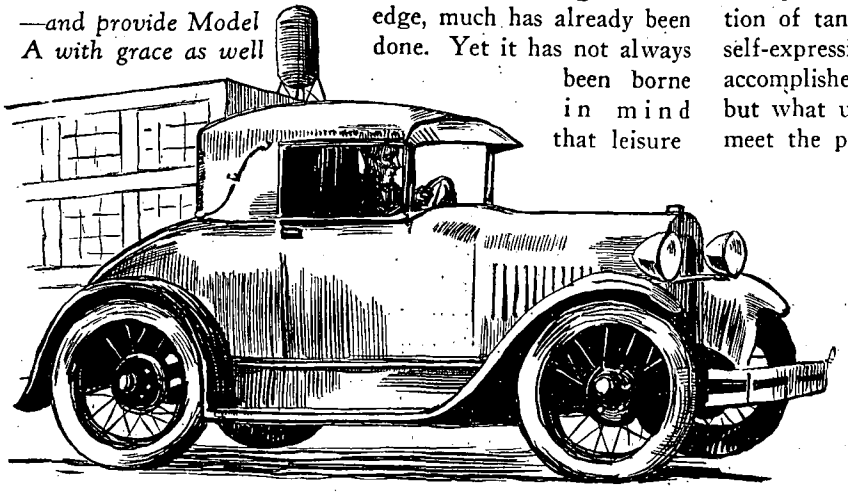
play: schools, adult courses, settlement houses, Boy Scouts, Christian Associations, and libraries among others. School education, for example, may be education for the constructive use of leisure as well as for work. Without impairing its utility, it may emphasize the development of independent initiative and of leisure tastes and capacities. Of course, such education is difficult under the mass production conditions of the typical public school. Yet, here and there in public as well as private schools it is done. Such schools point the way to the responsibility and the possibility of the school in the present need.

In all fields, the facilities of wholesome leisure available to the workers need brightening up. Workers' playgrounds, social halls, lecture halls, and reading rooms, are all too often frankly "institutional" and characterized only by conspicuous utility. Without cheer or charm, they have no appeal as a place to have a good time. Not long ago I spoke before a trade union forum in a shabby, dingy, unrestored derelict of a Victorian commercial hotel amid the smell of dirt and stale tobacco. It so dampened my spirits that it was uphill work to speak. If such halls are hard work to lecture in, what must they be to spend one's leisure in! On the way out I passed the warm, cheery, even though gaudy glitter of a moving picture palace. No wonder people from dingy back-street tenements crowd there. Yet charm can be given to worth-while recreation. One of the striking things about Hull-House, for example, is the beauty everywhere, and incidentally the good time the Hull-House residents themselves have. Hull-House doesn't compete with the movie hall in cheap glitter—it has the greater charm of real beauty, and its clubs and plays are crowded.

A man out of work costs money to keep straight, he can't just do nothing

Other leisure facilities, also, need charm. Henry Ford in spite of his devotion to Model T as the workman's car, was forced to abandon its mere utility and provide Model A with grace as well. Shouldn't workers' books be similarly given charm and be made enjoyable? Good books in poor print are hard reading. Poor paper and type make what should be enjoyable recreation, into work. From experience I have learned that when a workman says that a book was "tough reading," to ask him to let me look at the print. Isn't the time ripe for a Model A to replace the Model T Everyman's Library—valuable though it has been?



—and provide Model A with grace as well

In popularizing knowledge, much has already been done. Yet it has not always been borne in mind that leisure learning, in being made attractive, must not be made superficial. Witness some of the recent Outlines or glance through the advertisements of courses and other adult educational material in one of the popular magazines. Besides, it is important to remember that adaptation to the worker is also vital. University extension, for example, loses appeal when it is merely a hand-me-down of university courses, however simple. Workers, like everyone else, are hard to interest in things that have no meaning to them. On the other hand, like all people, even children, they resent being talked down to. Yet, workers are astonishingly capable of grasping difficult fundamental concepts when related to their interests and background and adapted to their methods of thought.

Most important of all leisure influences is leadership. To some extent this had already come from the ranks of the workers. Already there are some trade union colleges and forums. More extensively in Europe than here, there are workers' athletic, intellectual, and artistic associations. As the American worker becomes more fully aware of his new needs and opportunities, he will increasingly assume the initiative.

At least until the way is better worn and understood, however, the opportunities for leadership of the educator and the social worker are great. So also are the difficulties. Perhaps the hardest for the leader is having a good time himself. For the conscientious social worker or teacher, leisure leadership is often serious work. Enjoyment isn't something one can go in for too seriously or conscientiously with much chance of success. Yet, unless the leader has a good time, it is unlikely that anyone else will. And unless the undertaking is good fun, it isn't leisure and few people will devote leisure hours to it. Nor should they!

To have a good time and cause others to do so, important though it is, is not the full measure of leadership of leisure. Nor is the quality of exhibitions, plays, or paintings, or of the examinations passed, however great may be the satisfaction which these tangible results give to proud parents and even prouder leaders. The problem is not one of the production of tangible results, but of the creation of capacity for self-expression. What is important is not what has been accomplished in leisure hours while the leader was present, but what use will be made of leisure after he is gone. To meet the present need, leadership in the use of leisure, regardless of the pleasure or product produced, must somehow get beyond a follow-the-leader type of leadership and develop vigorous independent leisure interests and capacities.

An interesting case of the growth of independent interests is a group of discussion clubs that grew up in a New England factory. A few executives and their friends had formed the club. It met once a month. After dinner one of the members outlined some subject that he had looked into (*Continued on page* 157)

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The Natural History of Graft

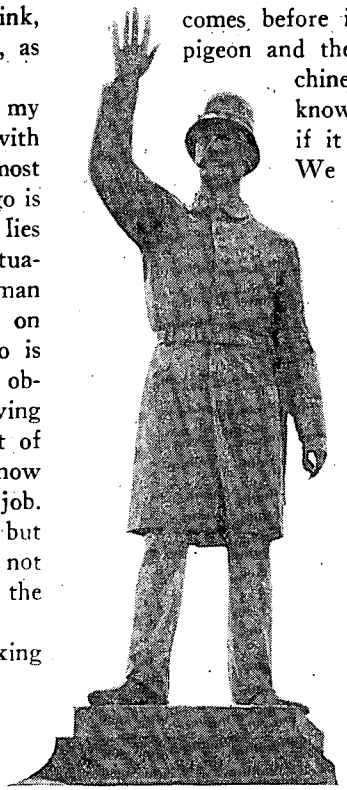
By WILLIAM BOLITHO

THE world spectacle of crime in Chicago is something like a vast mosaic, which has a subject—our only concern here—as well as an infinite concrete detail, which other observers have competently surveyed in a great many volumes. This subject or design, I see as an organic vital activity, the organization by social tissue of the interstitial space between the real and the ideal, between the written American code and the anachronistic ethical level of the immigrant proletariat. This gap or trauma exists, I surmise, in all living societies, and indeed to be the region of social progress and growth itself. The general view therefore, or diagnosis, is one essentially of life and not of death or decay.

What is special to Chicago, if not to the whole of America, is the abnormality both of the distance to be bridged, and of the force of the vital flow there. In old countries, the social will to live adapts itself, let us say, viscously. Here, in this soaring and magnificent opportunity, the energy of Europe's peasantry gushes with all the pressure thousands of years have stored up in it, like a geyser from enormous depths. Now this can be pictographed as an eager weaving, or cell-building, between two ever undulating semi-parallel lines, or as interstitial juristic adaptation, or even simply as a struggle between an institutional negative and an instinctive command, the Must Not of the law, and the Must of life. But not, I think, except for the purposes of poetry and drama, as a war between good and evil.

Here we come to the most delicate point of my attempt at appraisal, where your sympathy with a purely objective point of view will be most tried. For the most formidable force in Chicago is Reform, and the combatant vitality of reform lies in the conviction that such is the clear-cut situation: black and white, good and evil. A man can no more fight on objectivity than live on distilled water; and from the inside Chicago is a fight. So that by its very impartiality, an objective description of the situation risks having the dangerous air of a discouragement, if not of some cynical treachery. There is the risk I know I have to run in honestly completing my job. For now I have to describe not the criminal, but the forces of law and order, and specially, not the adaptation of life to the law, but of the law to life.

In the first place, just as the natural working of newspapermaking has over-simplified the crime situation into a melodrama—made a story, as the technical phrase has it, out of something fundamentally as unmoral though as inspiring as the Niagara Falls, so the very strength of the reform movement in Chicago has tended to distort the picture. One of the main reasons why Chicago seems so bad, in short, is that the enthusiasm, the ability, and the ideals of the reform movement there are so high.



Underwood photo

The monument to the police who died in the Haymarket Square riot

It is one of the most fascinating aspects of the whole thing, in fact, that with less natural possibility of an ideally pure police system and civic politics there than in any other great city in the world, it is in Chicago where they will be content with nothing else; there, above all places, where life runs loose, they are comparing the situation not with what really is on earth, in London, or Paris, or Berlin, but with how things are done in some New Jerusalem. In earthly cities, administration of the law by police is unhappily, in reality, always a dirty business, and always has been, everywhere. Only in more easy-going cities, they are content not to inquire too closely; to accept the picture of the policeman on his beat as the whole thing, and to idyllize the detective. When, every ten years or so, they *have* to clean out the sanitary system of society, which policing is, it is done discreetly. No one is asked in to watch. A conventional little story is made of it, open dismissals are reduced to a minimum, and no one, even the newspaper, questions too deeply or seeks to probe. The natural functions of society are performed, except in Chicago, behind a more or less decently decorative scene.

But since we must have comparison for estimation, it should be understood that in the policing of a great city there are three duties. Repression is the last. Control comes before it, and information first of all. The stool-pigeon and the informer, that is to say, are the real machinery. Whatever happens, a police chief must know what is going on in the underworld—even if it is at the cost of leaving crime unpunished. We do not conduct thief-taking so crudely or at any rate so openly as they did in the days of Jonathan Wilde or Vidocq; but the principle is immutable. Crimes are bargained for; a sprat catches a mackerel. Sometimes a mackerel is used for shark-bait, and even a shark of magnitude is not too big to give for a real killer-whale. All pickpockets, let us translate, are by no means jailed at sight; and even fences, those receivers of stolen goods who are the very economic foundations of the criminal world, are sometimes discreetly tolerated, paying for immunity with what an outsider might think very remotely interesting information. It may have happened to you, when you had a friend in high office in the police, or able to touch those who have, and you have been robbed, and then you have gone to your "pull." And then (how marvelous!) you have received your property back in a single week, in a night, in a few hours. Yet you have given nothing but a description of your loss; there must be some method at work here triumphantly different from

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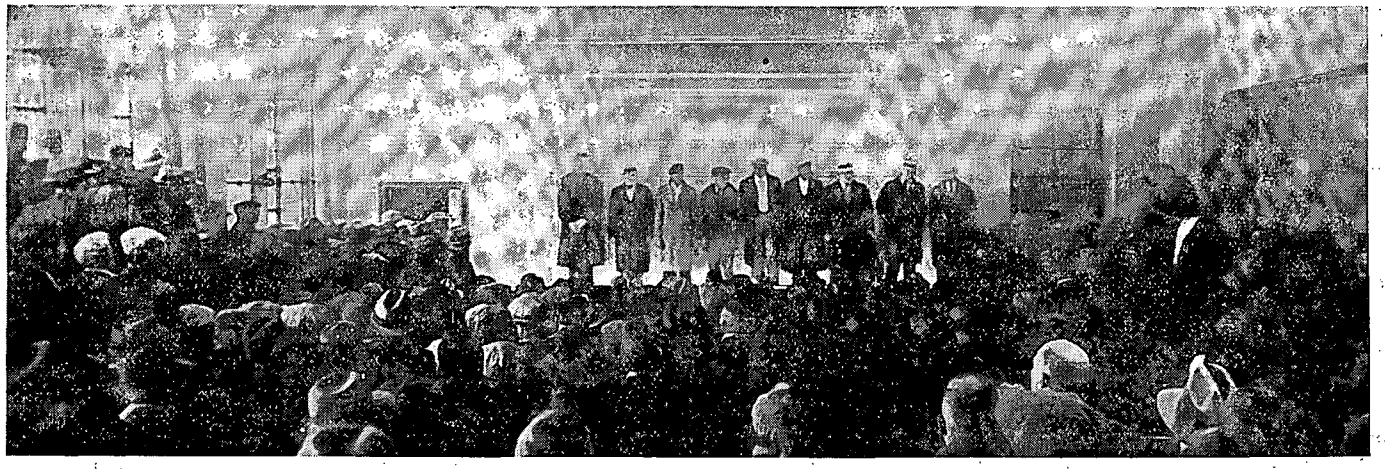
that of Sherlock Holmes. Quite so. But in Paris, let us say, you would hardly be so indiscreet as to deduce, what however is the truth, that all the fences and many of the likely burglars have been telephoned to, and yet not arrested.

Every now and then, in most great cities, emerges from these deep waters some huge black mystery, on which romance and fear hang their trappings. The Becker case or the Rothstein case in New York; the Troppmann case in the Third Empire days in Paris, or the Phillippe Daudet case quite recently—and so on. What do you suppose is the terrible information given to the man who is sent by popular clamor to "clear it all up," as soon as he has penetrated into the innermost room, of such a nature as to paralyze his force and close his mouth? Not so often honored names and high officials' implication, I fancy, as

now of the Department of Criminology of the University of Chicago—"Every drug peddler is a policeman [*scilicet*: an informer]" are to be taken. The heraldic crest of the underworld is a double-cross. The ultimate secret of almost every criminal and gangster is that he is a traitor, willingly, or by force, or just by stupidity. It is also the chief trade secret of crime detection. Perhaps a knowledge of this would be a more powerful crime deterrent than all the publicity given to other reasons why "you cannot win." The police laboratory, the use of science to further the ends of justice—these the young criminal has heard of, and laughs at or fears, both more or less inadequately. Their principal employment is to catch the amateur and the first offender, and of course, the strangely unimportant class who commit all the dramatic crimes—the single offenders. Another system deals with all the rest.



Pacific and Atlantic photo

Police made a wholesale round-up of suspicious characters who were held without bail and displayed them in a glare of spotlights to a roomful of men and women who had been robbed

a straightforward explanation that a penal solution would wreck a huge web of police system, uncovering indispensable pivots of spying, destroying whole regions of the defence system of society which it would take years, during which the worst might happen, to build up again. And he is told, I suppose, quite convincingly, that it would have to be built up again, anyhow. The French have actually a name for such affairs, *crimes policiers,* and their stigmata are rather recognizable. I almost said—their smell.

For the last of these typical outcrops, these symptoms, in a prodrome which would fill a volume, almost at random I suggest you consider that interminable complaint of ex-convicts—that the police never let them at peace when they have found honest work. Well, in the partial degree to which it is truth, this has also something to do with the matter. Cellars and sewers are necessary and useful, but they can never be kept as clean as a drawingroom.

The classic method, of course, is not simple, any more than it is direct. It shades all the way from scientific detection, to spying and wire-tapping; then paid information, tolerance, compensatory complicity, of which you will not alter the value by calling by the hard name of "compounding a felony," perhaps sometimes, surely rarely, to a little quiet instigation. But only the very, very zealous and confident police forces would dare to use that.

It is in an understanding of this "implicit necessary" that such phrases as that of Chief Vollmer of Berkeley—

But for the full employment of this system, it is necessary both to have a ruthless as well as intelligent chief, and to leave him alone. This the Chicago thirst for perfection cannot, of course, do. No major city police in the world is so constantly supervised, so continuously inspected, and so cramped in its play by a high moral code. The merest routine actions of the police of the Sureté or Scotland Yard would be on the front page of Chicago newspapers in a week; and look pretty bad, too.

NOW it may possibly be to this that is to be attributed some of the insuccess of police work in Chicago. That insuccess has of course shared in the general melodramatic distortion of the whole position. Figures have been composed and hastily broadcast, for sneering comparison with those, compiled on quite another basis, of other, especially European, cities. In general, as things are, I have the authority of Chief Vollmer in saying that police statistics are so irregularly compiled over the world that no valuable comparisons whatever can be drawn from them. A much more precise index of police efficiency in Chicago could be taken, if it were only a good story, from those rates quoted by insurance companies who buy the risk to property from robbery and fraud. In this list, which the new Department of Criminology of the university possesses, Chicago comes out very fairly. In at least four other great American cities, this risk is set down as greater than in Chicago;

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and this compilation at any rate rests on business fact, and neither on theory nor myth.

Another very short and simple reminder for those who are determined to believe in the absolutely unique conditions in Chicago, is that though the figures for gang killings in the city and district are well known over the whole world, and are always followed by the mention that no conviction, or an absurdly inadequate number of convictions followed, yet so far as I know no newspaper or publicist has ever accompanied this information with the surely pertinent figures of those killed or executed by the police on the spot. Surely it adds a different complexion to such well known statistics as these: Gang killings, 1926—74; 1927—56; no convictions—if you add: Criminals shot by police, 1926—43; 1927—46. And also one might well paste on Arthur Lashly's sage remarks: "When gangsters kill, they kill each other. Though there have been no convictions for such murders, such crimes are seldom solved in any large city."

THE large discrepancy between charges and convictions for all offences in the courts, let it be said in passing, is surely just as indicative of a too zealous police as of a corrupt magistrates' system.

But to return to the general. It is my opinion that the intense watchfulness and the uncompromising ideals of the Chicago reformers may have made ordinary police work difficult there. Their police chiefs have to play a hand in a game which is never gentlemanly, with a crowd behind calling their cards, and watching their sleeves carefully.

The test, the minimum of the efficacy of a police system, is perhaps shown in two different matters. The first: to what extent they avenge the death of one of their own men. Police are human; their "gang feeling" is at least as strong as that of the criminals, and when one of their own is killed, the extremity of their resources is usually brought out. Every criminal in the world knows that the murder of a "cop" is the most dangerous of all.

THE second is the defence of the leaders of society. It was always suicide for the freest bandits of Spain or Corsica to touch one of the King's friends. And so in Chicago, the Gold Coast, and to a somewhat less degree the great stores of the Loop, are virtually sacred, and immune from the so-called reign of terror. The only case I can think of in which this taboo was broken recently was a curious one in which one of the luxury hotels was held up by two young novice gangsters. I say it was curious, because evidently they had been taken in by the myth. They had heard that crime ruled in Chicago, and proceeded to act in accordance; with the result, as any less naive gangster could have told them, that they were immediately arrested, badly used, and sent to a penitentiary for years, without the faintest hope of "beating the rap." No influence could avail against such a desecration.

And though at the time I write this, Burke, the slayer of a country policeman, has not yet been caught, yet the fierce earnest of the search for him, the velocity of action, the determination and organization of the hunt, is pretty much what you would find even in London or Paris in a similar case.

So I suggest the incapacity of the Chicago police as largely misestimation; its cause as partly a result of the very energy of the forces of righteousness; and the main part of the usual explanation, the corruption of the police, their "alliance with the underworld," as a misunderstanding.

Yet it would be a sophism not to take up now in a little more detail the subject of police "graft" or petty bribery. No one, in the nature of the matter, can precisely estimate the extent to which the Chicago policemen from high to low take sums of money or services for special interference with the strict execution of the law. Even if such wisdom existed, there could be no comparison with the local situation and that in other cities of the world. In London, half-a-crown, by tradition, will solve a minor breach of the law, a traffic signal passed, or something of that sort. But, and mark this carefully, all would depend in that city, not only on the size of the offence, but above all on the personality, that is mainly the rank, of the offender. In Hyde Park, a "real gentleman," a pretty girl, a boy with the accent and dress of the upper class could perhaps succeed in the operation of slipping a coin into the white glove. But not certainly a rough-looking fellow, nor even a workman or store-keeper. The small graft or "tipping" is a privilege of the ruling class.

AND now, with that, we are in the deepest shoals of a deeply complicated question once more. In England the constitution leaves room for a more or less definite right of the rich to have the saddle of the laws eased for them. In other countries, where even this hidden understanding certainly does not exist, nevertheless the same phenomenon is observable. Now "tipping" and "petty grafting" are only two names for the same thing. And then, this is universal and natural. It is the accommodation of the letter of the law to the occasional necessities of the ruling class. Perhaps everywhere except in America, whatever the constitution may be, that ruling class is the rich, and the accommodations and adjustments they desire, obtain and pay for, arouse little attention, no alarm. But here, and especially in Chicago, the rule of the people is much more real, in spite of everything, at any rate in the small things; and the graft which shocks you in a small shopkeeper is really nothing but the rich man's tip you find natural; the practice of the privilege of a ruling class.

So much as a comparison in this matter with Chicago and London, or Paris. Set beside New York, I have been told "that the Chicago youngsters do not respect the policeman as they do in New York." If by this is meant not contempt but simply familiarity, from my own observation I am quite willing to agree; and explain it, whatever its racial and accidental reasons, on the same basis of the extreme democratic feeling of Chicago.

But this incidental and personal adjustment of the law, which a great deal of the "graft" concept covers, does not stand as a phenomenon by itself. Even with these modifications, the people, the proletariat, is a ruling class in Chicago; government there is both of and by them; and one of their perquisites is the privilege of employing and not simply submitting to the police. Yet if they tip, or graft, these small garage proprietors, flop-house keepers with an unruly son, greengrocers who have a sidewalk display, it is not for the same concessions as the clubmen of Piccadilly, or the elite of the boulevard and the Avenue du Bois, but for humble, usually mercenary things. The regulations broken would be different, the offences (*Continued on page* 170)

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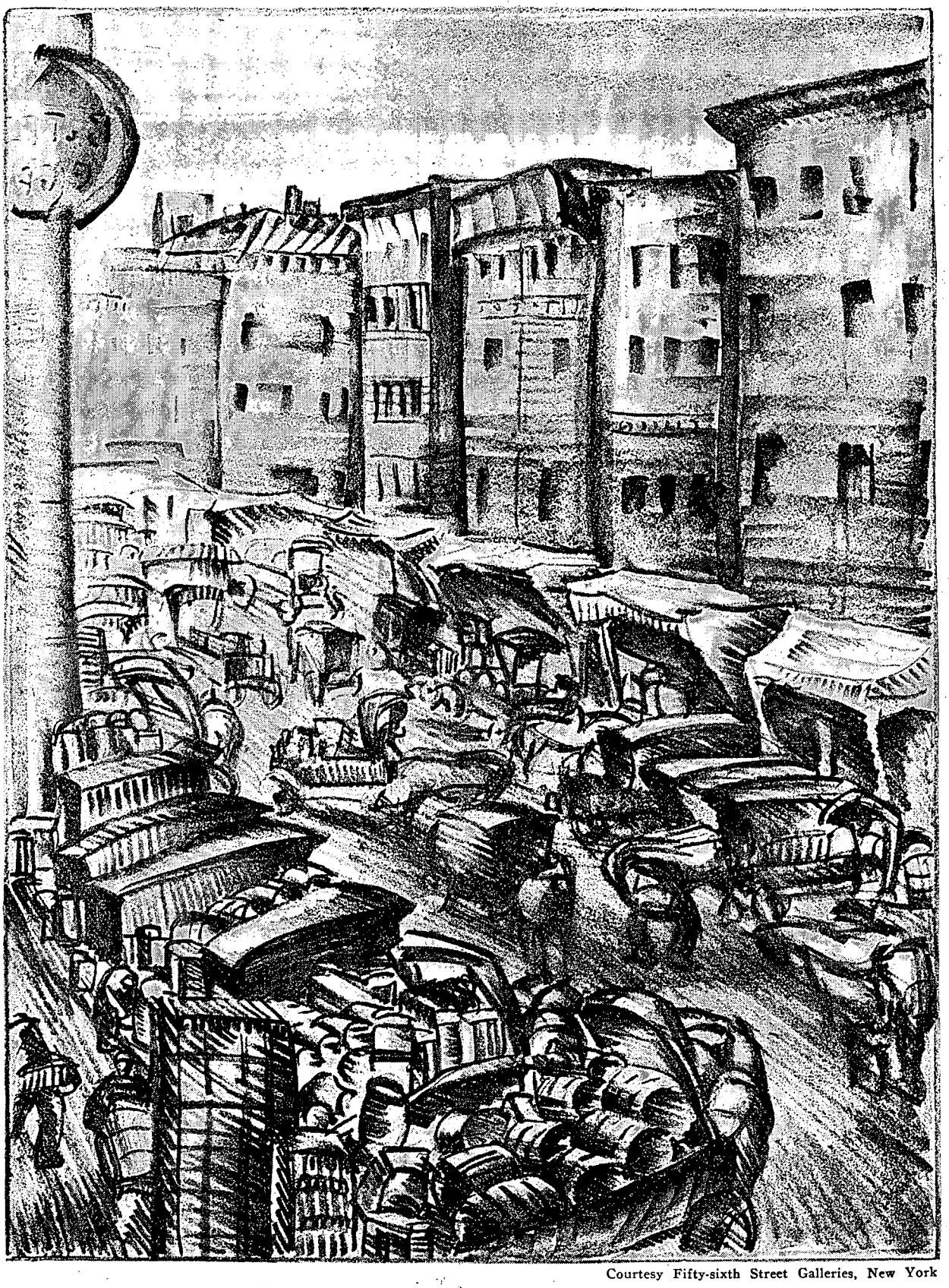
LITHOGRAPHS OF CHICAGO BY ANTHONY ANGAROLA



Courtesy Fifty-sixth Street Galleries, New York

OLD SOUTH WATER STREET MARKET

American art lost, last summer when Anthony Angarola died at thirty-six, a painter of power whose work was developing a mystical strain. These drawings of Chicago, where he was born, show the aspect of his work which must now be most characteristic, his preoccupation with city back corners and humble crowds

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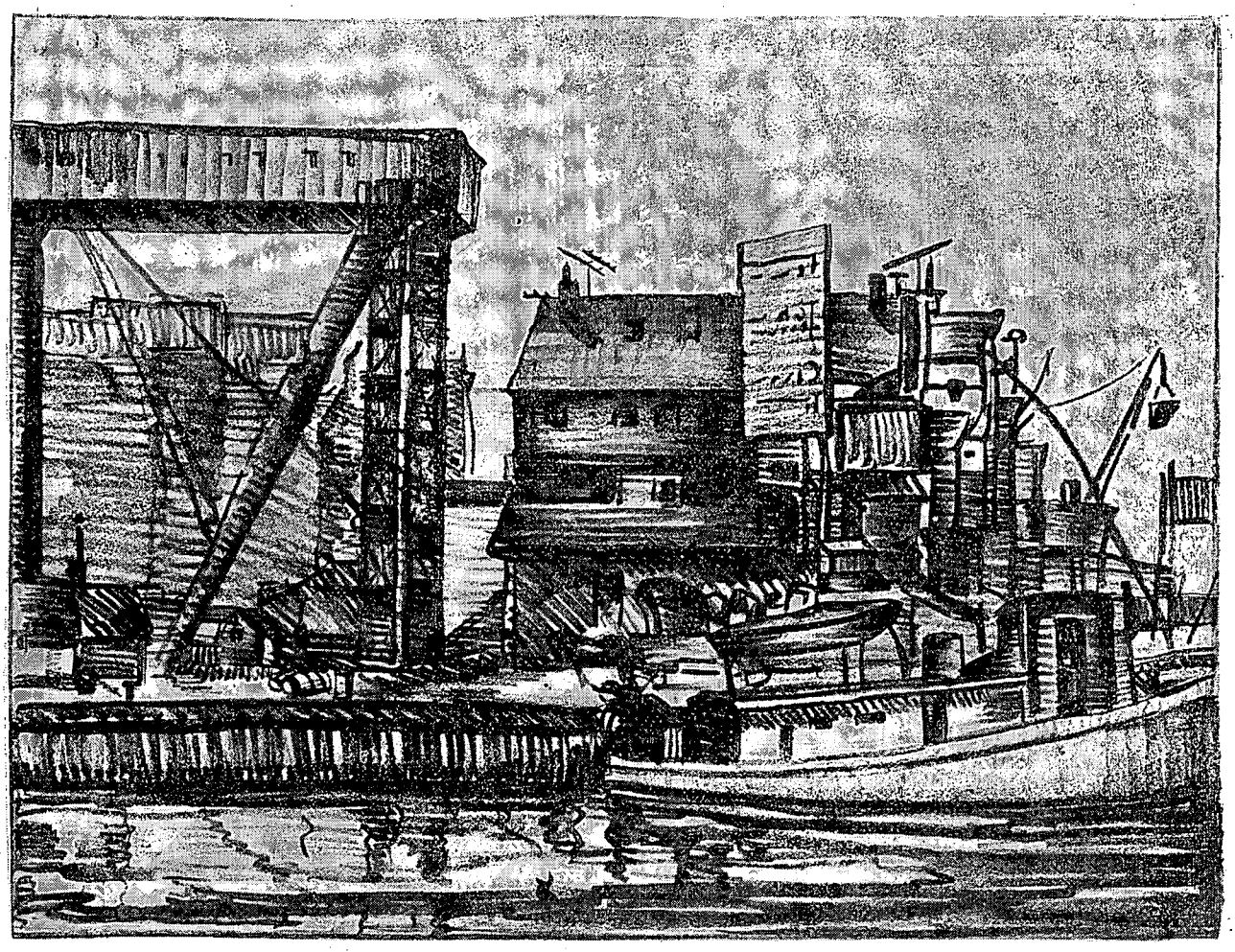
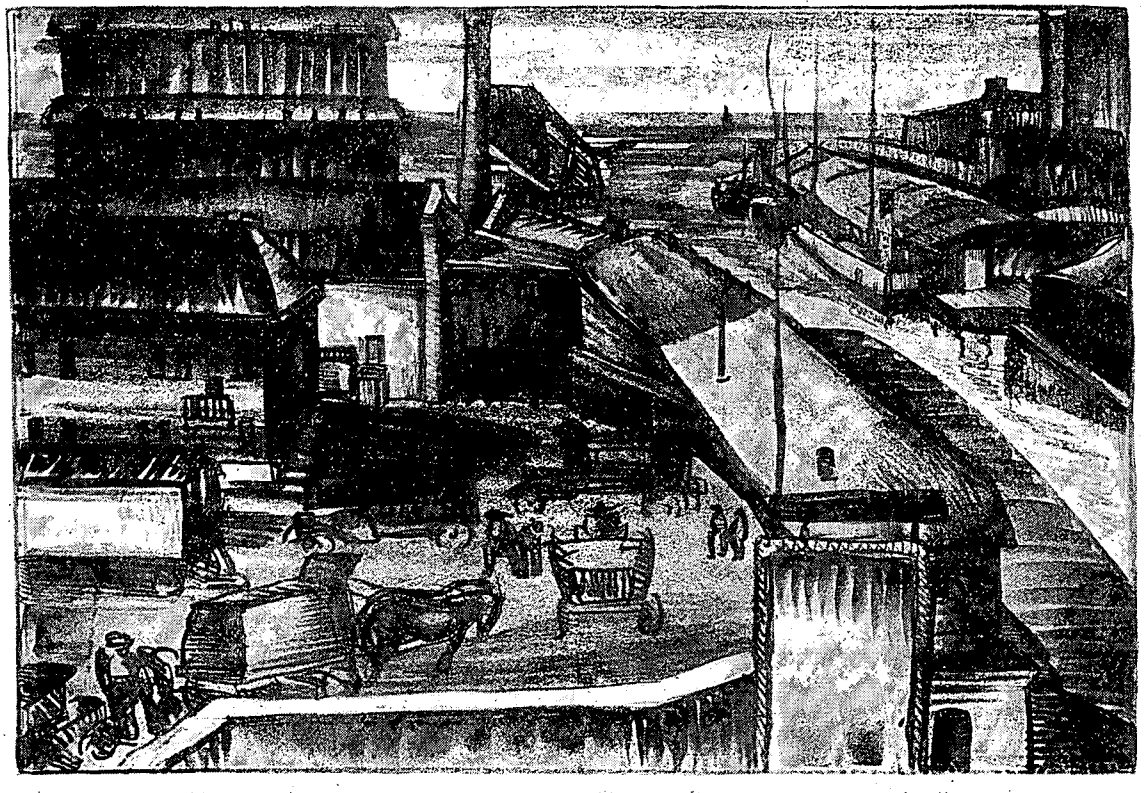


COAL DOCKS



CHICAGO RIVER

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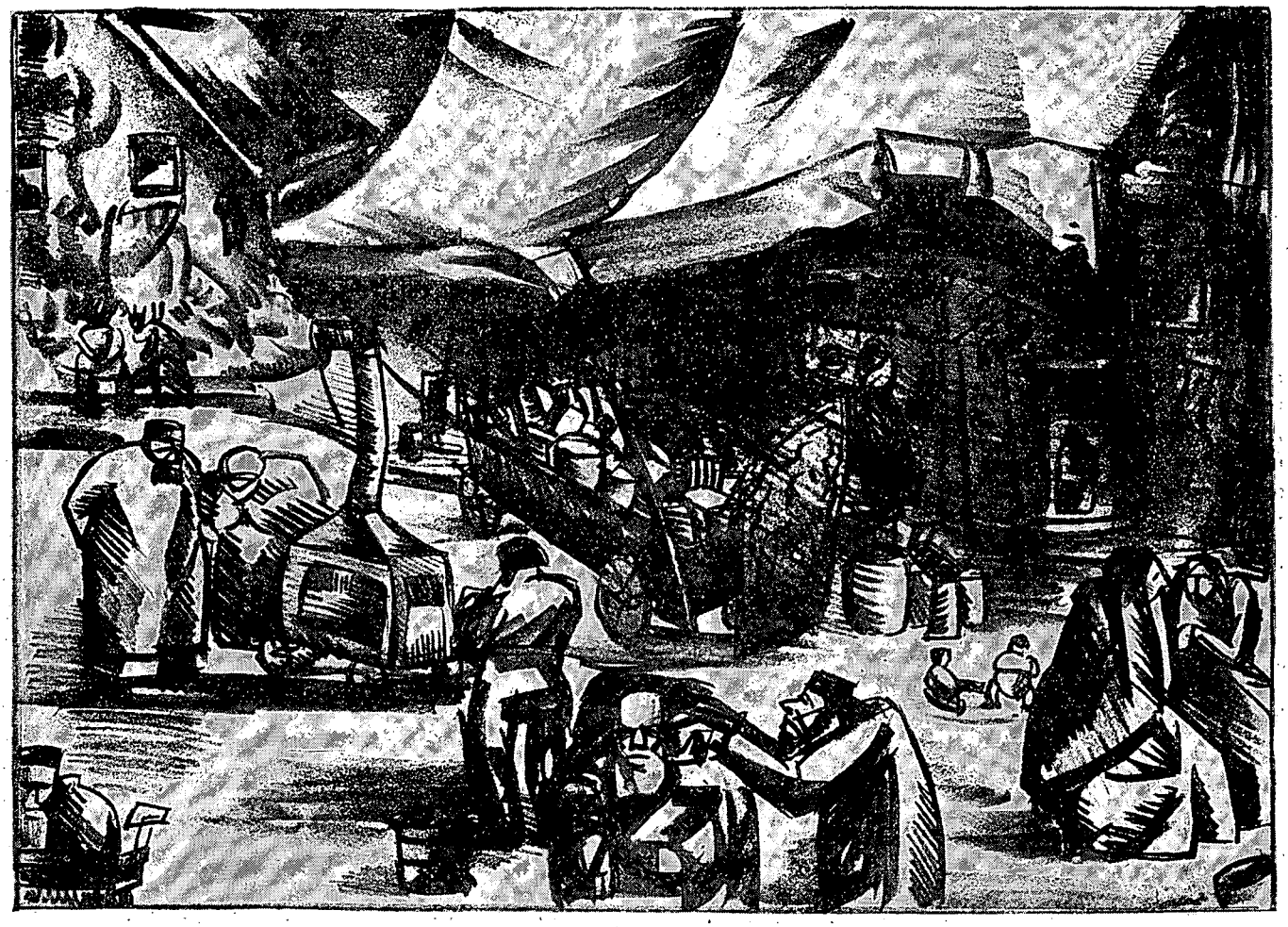
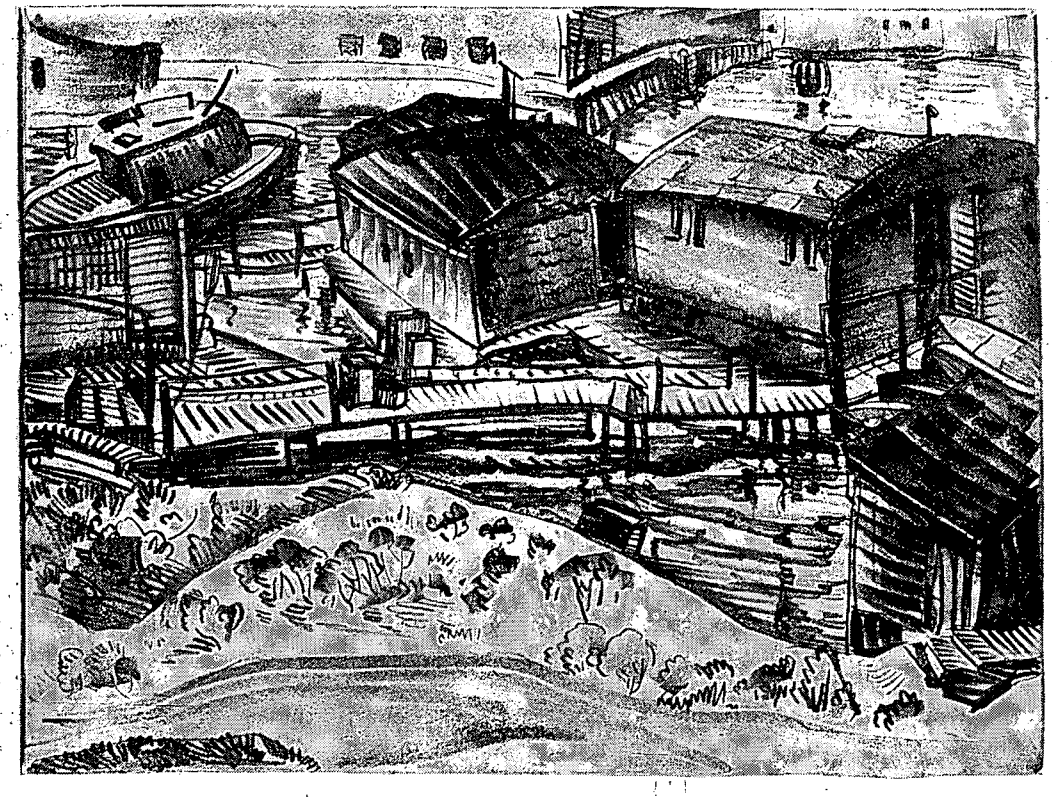


THE GHETTO



HOUSE BOATS

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The Gathering Storm in Asia

By S. K. RATCLIFFE

THE ultimate test of our civilization, as many besides Disraeli have said, will come in Asia; and if any observer of current affairs should affirm that the ordeal must be upon us in the very near future, I do not think the statement could be denied. Over the whole of the great eastern continent events are obeying a terrific momentum. In India, especially, a decision or crash of one kind or another is impending, and we shall not have entered upon the fourth decade of the century without the nations of Europe and America being made aware of its nature and probable extent.

I am writing at a moment when the Indian situation is in suspense, for over the closing stage of the enterprise directed by Mahatma Gandhi there hangs a vast uncertainty. But the major portion of what I have to say here is not affected by the events of this last and strangest of Oriental crusades. I want, first, to make clear the current happenings in India as influenced by British policy since 1919, and secondly, to attempt a brief estimate of the Gandhist Non-violence movement, especially in relation to Young India and to the forces that are shaping the India of tomorrow.

Modern India is, in a tragic sense, the land of lost opportunities. Once or twice during the latter part of the war, when the Near and Middle East seemed in danger of unlimited chaos, the British authorities realized the need of a new policy and attitude, but they were defeated by the strength of the old military and bureaucratic system. Edwin Montagu, the Jewish secretary for India, saw the road and started upon it; he was frustrated by the Dyers and O'Dwyers. The Montagu Constitution of 1919 was genuinely designed to confer a large measure of self-government and to prepare the way for a free India with dominion status, like that enjoyed by Ireland and Canada. But it had a wretched start in India because of Amritsar and the accompaniments of that tragedy, which had changed Mr. Gandhi from a cordial cooperator into an uncompromising opponent of the "satanic government."

THE end of the war was the time for a great decision and gesture, for taking what Ramsay MacDonald calls the risks of peace. A splendid chance was missed, though not, it should be remarked, by British statesmanship at home. The chance was missed in India, and by a Viceroy who should have known better.

And similarly five years later, when Mr. Gandhi, after his two years in prison, was compelled to realize that Non-cooperation as a policy had failed and that the bulk of his educated followers were resolved to abandon the non-political weapons and return to full political activity. I am not disposed to blame the first MacDonald cabinet for this. It had no power, and it was entirely preoccupied with perilous affairs close at hand. A further, and excellent, opportunity for reconciliation came a little later when, Mr. Gandhi being plainly desirous of abandoning politics and devoting himself to the cause of social redemption, the Swaraj leaders were asking for a round-table conference. That was the right device, and the latter stage of Lord Reading's term as viceroy was the time for it. Non-cooperation had been abandoned. C. R. Das, the Bengali leader whose political leadership had defeated Gandhi, was dead. Amid the distracted counsels of the Swarajists a lead from British statesmanship would have been welcomed and might have saved the situation.

Unhappily a conservative Prime Minister, knowing nothing of the East, entrusted Indian affairs to hands that should never have been allowed to touch them, and India was provided with the distressing spectacle of a Gandhi being confronted by a Birkenhead. In that contrast, perhaps, the destiny of British power in Asia may be symbolized. Such collocations may seem trivial in themselves. They are not seldom the turning points of national or imperial destiny.

WITHIN the past four years there have been two events which have assumed an importance that could not be discerned at the time of their occurrence. One was the appointment of the Simon commission of inquiry, the other the publication of Mother India.

By 1927 it had become clear to the conservative Prime Minister and his colleagues that whatever government was to be in office in 1930 would be called upon to grapple with a new crisis in India. The constitution was due for revision, and it was impossible to foresee the conditions under which Parliament would approach the task. The Indian leaders asked for, and expected, the appointment of a mixed commission, of British and Indian membership. The Baldwin government decided upon a commission made up only of members of Parliament, and Lord Birkenhead induced his old college friend, Sir John Simon, most eminent of liberal lawyers, to accept the chairmanship. The decision was calamitous, but not because it was made in bad faith. It was not. Mr. Baldwin meant well. Certainly he had no interest in making the Indian problem more difficult than it need be. Lloyd George and Ramsay MacDonald, on behalf of the Liberal and Labour parties, accepted the decision and associated themselves with the plan. Two Labour members of Parliament have sat on the commission from the beginning.

The case for the method of the Simon Commission is simple. What was needed, it was thought, was a body of public men who were in a position to interpret Indian opinion to Parliament, with the purpose of shaping a constitution that would embody the maximum of Indian assent. A mixed commission, it was pointed out, could not fail to produce a number of discordant reports, upon which it would be impossible for Parliament to legislate. The logic of this position was strong, but the tactics were deplorable. India was convinced that Baldwin and Birkenhead had been guilty of a gross affront to India. There was an instant closing of the Indian ranks. Swarajist and Liberal, ex-

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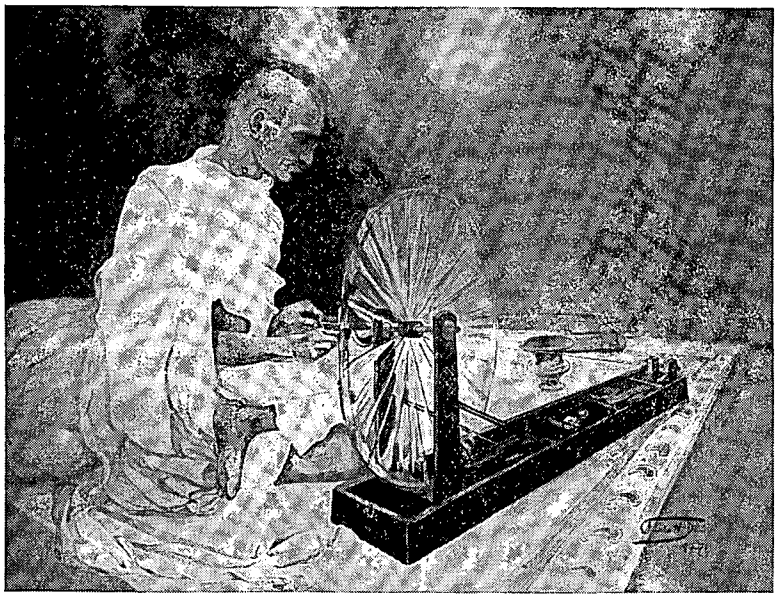
tremist and moderate, were for once acting in concert, and the commission was banned. Sir John Simon, always liberal in principle, did his best to redeem the situation by inviting equal cooperation and asking for the selection of Indian committees to work with the parliamentary commission. But it was too late; the mischief had been done. The commission was met, in city after city, by crowds carrying insulting banners, the mildest of which bore the injunction "Simon go home!"

Reform and constitutional advance in India depend, of course, upon the good-will of the educated classes and especially upon the support of the moderate and liberal leaders. These had been the mainstay for eight years of the Montagu constitution, but they had become hostile, their attitude having been influenced to a great extent by the second incident I have mentioned, the violent conflict over Mother India. I say nothing here of Miss Mayo's book, its purpose or its contents. The controversy is now old history, and the most singular of recent best-sellers has fulfilled its destiny. The point I am making now is simply that as a political event Mother India was a disaster. It came out at a time when, in India and Britain alike, there was need for all the agencies of moderation and good-will, in order that the difficult job of constitutional advance might be undertaken in the best of attainable circumstances. The book made cooperation impossible. It poisoned the entire atmosphere.

The misfortune of all this was evident from the beginning. Those parties in India upon whom the Government has hitherto been able to rely for support against the extreme nationalists were alienated. Many leading liberals gave way to anger and declared that they could no longer believe in British good faith; nor were they in any degree conciliated by Sir John Simon's effort, on his first arrival in India, to devise a method which, by means of the Indian committees, he hoped would make cooperation practicable. The committees were actually formed, and they did their work against many difficulties, while a central Indian committee, presided over by an able jurist of Madras, Sir Sankaran Nair, performed a noteworthy piece of service and, completing its task in London, produced a constitutional plan of which we may expect to hear a good deal in the future.



Mahatma Gandhi Spinning. Water color by Frieda Hauswirth Das

Now let us turn to developments on the Indian side. Mr. Gandhi, there can be no doubt, was anxious to have done with political agitation and the endless personal and factional difficulties of the Indian National Congress. Events had proved that the two-fold basis of his first crusade was fatally insecure. First, the Hindu-Moslem entente could not be consolidated. It had been made, in 1920, amid conditions related to the Turkish power which were completely destroyed by the Turkish dictator, Mustapha Kemal. And secondly, the non-cooperation program had been abandoned. The more influential Swarajist leaders were convinced that the aims of the party must be pursued by political means and through the control of the legislative councils which Mr. Gandhi had boycotted. In these circumstances, as we can easily see, the Mahatma would greatly have preferred to remain outside the arena, devoting himself to the cause that is peculiarly his own: the economic mission of the spinning-wheel, and his long-distance program of social redemption including the abolition of the drink and drug traffic, the liberation of Indian womanhood, and the removal of the curse of untouchability from the outcaste communities of the Hindu system.

IT was "the wreck of the Birkenhead," as they say in India—in other words, the lamentable decision of the India Office in 1927—which brought about the resumption by Mr. Gandhi of his political activity: that, and his own realization of the central fact of the later movement, namely, the rejection of the non-violence principle by the men of the present generation.

Young India is not Gandhist. There is the core of the present crisis. The new party of independence, headed by the younger Nehru of Allahabad, does not believe in passive resistance. It is not much impressed by soul-force as preached by the Mahatma. It has convinced itself that the power of Britain in India is waning, and that the time has come for a policy of direct action against the Government. Too much, perhaps, has been made of the parallel between the Indian problem and the Irish. They are of course enormously different. But this is undeniably true: that Sinn Fein has had great influence upon the Swarajists, and that the followers of Jawaharlal Nehru have drawn their own inferences from the tactics of the Irish Republican Army and the failure of the Black-and-Tans. In this connection we may consider the meaning of such matters as the large minority vote in the Indian National Congress at Lahore last December, when Mr. Gandhi moved a resolution of sympathy with the Viceroy over the Delhi bomb outrage, and the significance of a certain passage in Mr. Gandhi's letter to Lord Irwin, written just before the start of the 80 marchers from Ahmedabad to the sea. In this letter, destined to be historic, the Mahatma said in plain terms that the younger men were threatening to begin a campaign of violence, in violation of the essential doctrine which he had laid down. Indeed, he confessed in so many words that it was his knowledge of Young India's feeling and intention which had compelled him to undertake the enterprise, as a last desperate (*Continued on page* 158)

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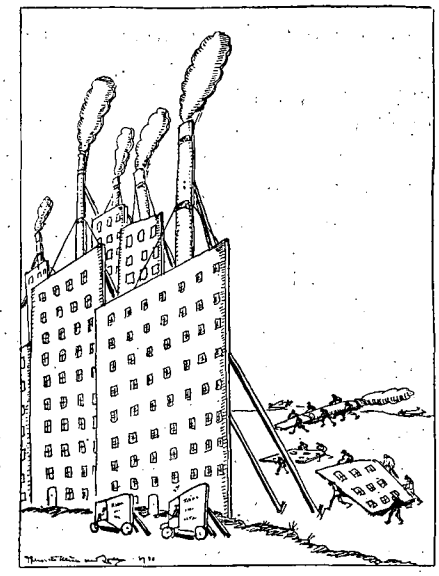
Outflanking Unemployment

By PAUL U. KELLOGG

To the left, The Whistle Blows—Donahey in the Cleveland Plain Dealer epitomizes the President's leadership in business revival.

To the right, Potemkin up to Date—Van Loon caricatures the pseudo statistical outgivings of the winter which tended to conceal the extent of unemployment—taking his theme from that chapter in Russian history when the minister of Catherine the Great erected false fronts to conceal the poverty of villages she was to pass.



QUANAGEMENTS Opportunity in Outflanking Unemployment—was chosen by Survey Associates as the subject for our third after-dinner meeting in New York in early April. At the turn for the better this spring, we sought to dramatize the chance to put the winter's trouble to enduring account. In opening the meeting, Judge Julian W. Mack, chairman of our board, touched on the cycle which has characterized other business recessions —emergent need; public concern; reports, programs; business recovery; dust covered reports; forgotten programs.

Are we to go through the same rigmarole?

New and promising factors enter in. Social workers are more articulate not only as to the misery confronting them but as to its tragic inconsistency in a day of applied science and engineering skill. And progressive business leaders as never before are shouldering responsibility for remedies. Moreover, the jeopardy to family well-being which the social worker comes up against on every hand becomes from another angle the spasmodic employment that shatters the wage-earning, wage-spending market to which the sales end of American production is increasingly sensitive. Or, as Frances Perkins puts it, we are becoming "stabilization conscious."

To enhance that awareness, to help catch the imagination of the industrial leaders of the country so that they may see the opportunity fairly under their hands, was the purpose of the meeting of Survey Associates. Outstanding executives in manufacture, transportation, journalism, merchandising and banking, as well as engineers, managers and labor experts were among those present. The occasion was conceived as part of our job of social interpretation in line with the series of articles The Survey has carried since our special number a year ago on Unemployment and Ways Out—articles which, on the one hand, clinched in the human consequences of unemployment, and on the other, exhibited constructive moves.

Twenty years ago social workers and journalists had a hand in dramatizing another hazard of American industry, and in driving home management's responsibility toward it: industrial accidents. There had always been risks in work; but with new speeds, huge tools, the heats, the charged wires, the great working crews, these took on an altogether new import. They were filling hospitals and orphanages, burdening our charities, and leaving a devastated wake of broken homes. In less than a quarter century, we have closed in on that hazard of modern work from two sides. We have cut down accidents by safety engineering. We have spread out some of the income loss of the remainder through our compensation laws, so that, except for a few backward states, the consuming public meet part of the human wear and tear.

Today, we are waking up to this other hazard of modern industrial life. There has always been unemployment; but with technological advances, with changing styles, models, motive powers, machines; with mass production and swift corporate expansion, with high pressure salesmanship and payrolls that balloon today and run on their rims tomorrow, it has taken on an altogether new import. It is burdening our charities and leaving a devastated wake of broken homes.

My belief is that we are on the threshold of closing in on this other hazard of modern work. We have a counterpart for safety engineering in the inventions by which progressive managements are stabilizing work. We are beginning to grasp that broken working time is a recurrent and measurable risk, one that we can insure against, one that we can't leave to be covered by shoe leather and bare hands.

THERE have been patches of silver lining to the winter's clouds,—the biggest at Washington, where President Hoover called business leaders together and got the country off on its right foot. He buttressed morale and through the National Business Survey Conference called for the speeding up not only of public works but of large scale construction and replacement by manufacturing and public service corporations so as to throw the lever forward at a time when ordinary commercial operations were bound to fall off. And he successfully drew the line against recourse to wage cuts, leading to strikes and bitterness, characteristic of other recessions. These steps were in line with recommendations of the President's Unemployment Conference of 1921 which Mr. Hoover also engineered. He has thus twice brought his wartime experience to bear by using the leadership of the federal government to focus great voluntary forces for revival.

There has been another wartime echo that has not been so happy. We were bucked-up by a barrage of communiques. The administration (save for that watch dog of statistical veracity—Ethelbert Stewart of the U. S. Labor Department) has seemed to have blinders on as to the extent and significance of the unemployment that has scotched most of our industrial centers during this winter of readjustment. Com-

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missioner Perkins of New York put the country in her debt by laying the facts for her state on the table as early as January, and those facts could be duplicated for Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio, Michigan and other industrial states.

Moreover other factors in the program of 1921 had been left at loose ends during our years of prosperity; nor have they been energized this winter in equal degree. It has remained for Senator Wagner of New York through three bills to focus attention on budgeting public works, employment statistics and the Federal Employment Service, which has remained a feeble tool. Meanwhile, construction plans—roads, works, buildings—swiftly fabricated by the administrative departments under the lead of the Department of Commerce have not been released by Congressional appropriations. And the emphasis on business revival was not matched by an equal national emphasis on the conservation of livelihood.

WITH spring, not only has seasonal employment picked up, but forward moves have made headway in the direction of stabilizing employment as well as business. These were brought out at the Survey meeting. That was given a personal and epic note by the story of how, starting from scratch in the depression of 1921, with a labor turnover as bad as any in the country, the greatest soap works in the world steadied its working year. Readers of the staff article in the Survey Graphic for April—Ivorydale: A Payroll That Floats—are familiar with this plan of guaranteed employment which stood the test of the winter of 1930. At the meeting, Miss Amidon gave fresh interest to her findings by her encounters with workers and merchants and housewives. Col. Procter was prevented by illness from presenting his experience in person, but Richard R. Deupree, vice-president drove the wedge of demonstration home by telling how The Procter & Gamble Company crush cotton seed.

> Nobody in the industry has ever tried to run a cotton seed mill 12 months a year [said Mr. Deupree]. In the first place, they didn't know how to keep the seed fresh. The seed molds in three to four months. When Mr. Procter got into that business and put his mind on it, as he did four years ago, when he found these mills running only four months, he nearly died! He started in and equipped every mill he controlled in the South with large storage tanks—and some of the tanks cost more than the mills—to store the seed; and then he invented, or discovered or found a way to keep that seed from molding or heating. Today he is equipped to run every mill he has the entire year.

Newspapers throughout the country carried the high points of the address of Julius H. Barnes, chairman of the National Business Survey Conference, and it will be published in full in a later issue of Survey Graphic. In reviewing the steps taken to "treat a great national crisis in a new way," he discussed seasonal, business, market and technological changes which find the individual worker now riding upon the "crest of a new wave of employment and compensation" and then "caught in the ebb and bruised against the tide rocks of adversity." His address gave encouragement to the hope that what the President's Unemployment Conference of 1921 broached in a rounded way, matching its proposals for making business stable with an equal emphasis on making livelihood secure, the National Business Survey Conference of 1929 will take up in sequence in 1930. Said Mr. Barnes:

> If we have raised a complex and delicate structure of industrial and social life more precious than the level of the simple living of our fathers, then we must certainly not expect to apply therein the same crude principles of employment relations which sufficed for that early and primitive day. . . .
>
> We are constructing great engines within the lines of the employing industries themselves that make it more possible to apply corrective measures than ever before. I refer to the growth of trade associations by which they set new standards of ethics and practices, new knowledge, ideals and aspirations.

April has seen the launching of what is essentially the first state-wide Employment Planning Commission—throwing the emphasis from emergency measures to long range stabilization. Speaking before the Survey meeting, Frances Perkins, State Industrial Commissioner, told how Governor Roosevelt had become convinced, as result of correspondence reaching her office from every county and industry in the state,

> that there was a disposition on the part of the employers of this state to prevent unemployment and that it was our duty as representing all of the people of the state, the working people, the community generally, and all the employers, to mobilize this interest, to organize it, and to make available to those who do not know the technique of the prevention of unemployment.
>
> We hope to leave behind us in the State of New York, in every industrial community, a trail of permanent committees, endorsed and sponsored by chambers of commerce, and employers associations, and civic bodies generally, devoted to the idea of planning for the prevention of unemployment in those communities. The whole movement is based upon the conception, (1) that New York's industrial prosperity rests upon the buying power and purchasing power of the wage earners; (2) that unemployment is preventable by known means, and (3) that an industry which is stabilized and regularized is a better paying enterprise than one which is erratic.

In April, also, the Swarthmore Institute of Unemployment began functioning under direction of Prof. Paul Douglas; the U. S. Chamber of Commerce brought out a compact handbook on Balancing Production and Employment Through Management Control; and a group of progressive New England employers, calling themselves the Committee to Study Methods of Reducing Seasonal Slumps, A. Lincoln Filene, chairman, set about canvassing and spreading ways and means for stabilization. The Federal Council of Churches designated April 27 as Unemployment Sunday, and the National Unemployment League, Darwin J. Meserole, president, issued a widely signed appeal to the President and Congress in behalf of the expansion of public works.

SOCIAL concern was crystalized in the two day session of the All-Philadelphia Conference on Social Work, where Jacob Billikopf challenged the municipal lethargy which has failed to supply public relief in the crisis, where Leo Wolman of the Amalgamated told of the pioneer labor-management funds in the garment trades, and Prof. Mollie Ray Carroll interpreted European schemes of unemployment insurance. Case workers, health workers, psychiatric and child welfare workers bore their testimony; and Helen Hall, chairman of the Unemployment Committee of the National Federation of Settlements, set forth evidence gathered from thirty cities which she had put before the U. S. Senate Committee on Commerce at its hearings on the Wagner bills—conditions in the normal times of 1929 underscored by her tracings of the ragged human edge of industrial dislocation in the automobile district this year. If Lake Erie should back up and flood Detroit, put 150,000 people out of work, put a burden of half a million dollars a month on its municipal Welfare Department, we should see big streamers across the front pages of all our newspapers. There were no such headlines in December, January and February; yet as Miss Hall brought out in the April Survey Graphic, that's what unemployment did this winter; what, less spectacularly, has happened in many of our industrial centers. Their experience makes up a brief for action weighted with distress in actually hundreds of thousands of American homes.

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Sintach vs. Sapp

By ELEANOR ROWLAND WEMBRIDGE

Drawings by Helen B. Phelps

THAT the poor should have justice we all agree. But how with the best will in the world is justice to be supplied? Especially to contestants who do not share our enthusiasm for this virtue? If they did, they need have consulted no judge but their own good conscience. Neither Sam Sintach nor Illy Sapp wanted to get justice half so much as they wanted to "get" each other. But whether they wanted it or not—where did justice lurk?

Sam's allegation (in Polish) so far as I could get it through a third party, was as follows: On the twenty-first day of March, Illy Sapp (that abandoned girl sitting right there before us!) did enter the house of Sam Sintach and extract $53.47 and the purse in which it was contained, from under Sam's mattress. She thereupon ran to her father and gave the purse to him. He took $12 from the purse and returned it to Sam, keeping the balance of $41.47 for himself. Sam asked only that this latter sum be returned at once. A simple request. But not so fast!

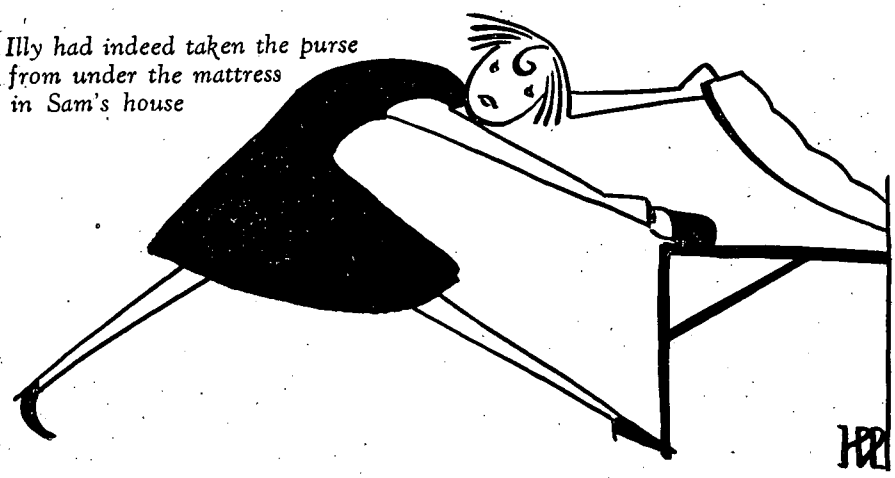
Illy's response (in English) which Sam understood imperfectly, was that she had indeed taken the purse from under the mattress in Sam's house and had given it to her father. But she insisted that the purse had contained only $32, of which $12 was returned at once. This left only $20 to which Sam could lay any claim. But since Sam already owed the Sapps $200 from a previous obligation, the Sapps not only owed him nothing, but on the contrary Sam owed them the balance of his former debt—namely, $180. Such was the Sapp-Sintach case in a nutshell, if any known shell were not a poor and inadequate symbol for the nut of their argument. To thrash the matter out, Mrs. Sapp and Illy had ranged themselves on one side of the row of chairs, Sam Sintach and a neighbor upon the other. The remaining members of both families had been content to stay at home and leave the battle to be fought in court by their acknowledged champions.

Illy's opening defense was as follows: Sure I took the purse from under that mattress. But it's a cinch it wasn't Sam's mattress! It was the mattress of Dominica Sapp. The purse was Dominica's purse, and it contained the back wages which she had earned from Sam while working in his house. This statement was volubly corroborated by Mrs. Sapp (in Slovenian) before Sam's contemptuous and uncomprehending sneer, for Sam understood Slovenian as little as the court. Since Illy spoke English fluently, Sam spoke it after a fashion, and Mrs. Sapp spoke it not at all, it was suggested that further proceedings be carried on by the principal contestants in this language. When necessary an interpretation was to be made to her mother by Illy. Otherwise she was asked (unsuccessfully) to keep quiet. The remainder of the hearing was therefore carried on against a steady Slovenian monolog of comment, interrupted from time to time by an impatient American "Shut-up" from Illy.

Illy Sapp, that abandoned girl

SAM'S answer to Illy's statement that the purse had belonged to her sister Dominica rather than to him, was the smiling announcement that on June 16 Dominica had become Mrs. Sam Sintach. Her purse therefore had automatically become the property of her husband. Great excitement was at once registered among the Sapps, who countered with the observation that whoever owned the purse after June 16, it had undoubtedly belonged to Dominica Sapp on March 21. In other words, the success which had attended Sam's efforts to make Dominica do his housework for nothing was not retroactive. Even if she never got another cent from him (which they agreed would be the case) the money she earned before she married him, was hers.

Sam reflected heavily upon the matter. He then made the canny response that whereas the purse may have belonged to Dominica upon the twenty-first of March, as well as the wages in it, the mattress had never belonged to Dominica either then or thereafter. On what authority therefore did Illy break into Sam's house and investigate the regions under his mattress? Is not such unlawful entry burglary and housebreaking? Illy and her mother cackled shrilly at this subterfuge. As Illy explained,



Illy had indeed taken the purse from under the mattress in Sam's house

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and Sam apparently could not contradict her, Sam kept a store. Customers not finding him in, had always penetrated to the room beyond to find him and persuade him to sell his goods. The bed and its mattress stood in the room where his customers had always loitered at one time or another. It was surely not housebreaking to enter a place of business and hunt up the proprietor. Moreover, when Illy had got as far as the room, the affair with the purse lay between her and her sister, not with Sam, since it took place before Sam's legal connection with the family. Sam then shifted the attack. He asked us to explain to him on what grounds the Sapps supposed that he owed them money? If he now owed them $180, what did he owe it for? He claimed to be completely ignorant of money obligations to them of one cent, to say nothing of the prodigious sum which they now demanded.

A truly alarming explosion of wrath from Mrs. Sapp when she understood the question. Excited colloquies with Illy, who retorted loudly that when Dominica came to this country at an expenditure of $200, she promised to repay her parents for her passage. This she had never done, and must be made to do.

"But," shouted Sam, "If I do not get back the wages which I paid my wife before I married her, how am I responsible for *her* debts contracted before I ever met her?"

"You are not responsible for them," calmly replied Illy. "It is Dominica who is responsible, and that is why I took her purse."

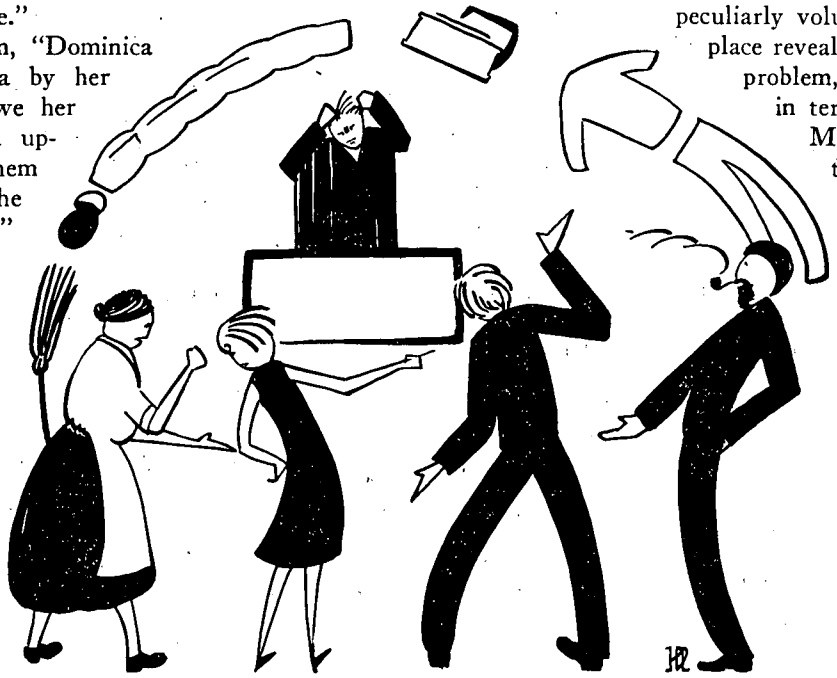
"But," countered Sam, "Dominica was left in Jugo-Slavia by her parents. Surely they owe her $200 for her childhood upkeep. She does not owe them $200 for her trip. The debt lies the other way."

Angry explanations by way of Mrs. Sapp revealed the fact that Dominica had been left with grandparents who needed a young girl to look after them. Dominica had wanted to stay and the grandparents had wanted to keep her. After their death, other relatives had also wanted her. But by this time Dominica had changed her mind and wanted to come to America. This was only possible by her promising to repay the passage money, a promise which she had cheerfully given. Since she had begun to earn wages, however, not a cent had been paid. Illy was therefore justified in filching the purse from beneath the mattress.

"What affair is it of Illy's? Did Dominica owe Illy the money?" demanded Sam furiously.

"She owed it to my father, and I got it as he told me to," insisted Illy, the dutiful daughter, firmly.

"If Dominica's father wanted the money, he should have come to the court as I have done. What right had he to prowl among my mattresses?" was Sam's next rejoinder.



Home-cleaning, purse, mattress, victrola, suit—all juggled in the court

The answer to this question was, that Dominica had been lying to her father. She had said that Sam paid her no wages. But sharp-eyed Illy had seen her when she was paid and had seen her hide the money. She conceived it her duty therefore to inform her father of Dominica's perfidy. When he was incredulous at such ingratitude from Dominica, Illy had told him that she could prove the truth of her allegations—and had done so at his command.

AFTER some reflection, Sam suddenly changed his tack. He told Illy gently to ask her mother when she intended to pay for the second-hand suit she had purchased several weeks ago from Sam's store. Being somewhat embarrassed by the loss of his purse, he must trouble her for an immediate payment. Loud protestations from Mrs. Sapp greeted this request. It was true that she had bought the suit from Sam for her boy Joe. But Sam already owed her more than it was worth for the house-cleaning which she had given to his store in March and for which she had never received her pay.

"Pay? Why should I pay a mother who comes to help her daughter?" shouted the aggrieved son-in-law. "Will not a mother help her daughter free?"

"Dominica was working for you all the time that I was, as your hired help. She earned her wages and I earned mine. Remember that this was before the wedding," was at once roared back by Mrs. Sapp, and a peculiarly voluble interlude then took place revealing another angle to the problem, hardly to be reckoned in terms of money.

Mrs. Sapp, we found through Illy's tittering interpretation, was charging Sam with the fact that it was his own fault that the money was due his mother-in-law. Why had he not married Dominica in February as he had promised, and thereby saved his precious wages, as well as saving a certain slur on Dominica's reputation resulting from the fact that Sam's mattress and Dominica's had been one and the same? If he had been so slow about his wedding, which in the Sapps's judgment was considerably overdue, let him whistle for his payment for the suit—which might also be a trifle overdue. It was one thing to do a son-in-law's house-cleaning to help one's daughter, his bride. It was quite another to work for nothing for a man who had not made one's daughter his bride until suggestion and persuasion had to be supplemented by force.

To this Sam growled angrily that they were married now, and he had not been able to afford an earlier wedding on account of the large sums he had had to pay for wages.

To which Mrs. Sapp shrilled back, that had the wed-

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ding been sooner, he would have had fewer wages to pay!

The endless circle of these recriminations seemed to lead farther and farther from the original issue to which the court gently strove to lead the disputants back by asking Sam why he was so sure that sum in the purse was $53.47 when his opponents were equally sure that it was $32 with no cents? Sam said that he was sure of this because he counted his money every evening and remembered the sum.

This statement brought forth the wordy protest from Illy that it was plain to be seen and proved that Sam had an affliction of the eyes which made it impossible for him to read print of any kind, or distinguish between small coins. A five or ten dollar bill was the same to him, and a nickel could be told from a penny only with great difficulty.

IN fact, this was the main reason why Dominica had been hired in the first place—not because Sam was so morbidly set upon a clean house or store, nor even because he needed his meals prepared at home—there being an excellent restaurant next door. He had hired Dominica rather to help him keep his books and count his money. Who then had counted the money in the purse and reported to him the sum of $53.47? Obviously it had been Dominica and not Sam. Sam temporarily checkmated, admitted under pressure that Dominica had in fact counted both her wages, and the amount in his cash drawer, from which the change had been taken and placed in her purse for safe keeping.

"Ha," cackled Mrs. Sapp triumphantly. "So—So! Dominica tells lies to her father so she will not have to pay her passage money. And she tells lies to her husband to make him think that Illy stole more than she did. Perhaps Dominica herself stole the money to buy some of the things you promised to buy for her, and have never bought. Small blame to her if she had. Where is the silk dress you promised for the wedding? Ask your wife that, and perhaps you will find that she bought it with the money she tells you that Illy stole. How can a blind man know how his wife spends his money?"

To this Sam could only retort furiously that he had done business and supported a previous wife with no help from Dominica's eyes, and that he knew what money he had. If Dominica had a dress that he had not bought, he would know it. He could feel silk even if he could not see it, and he had friends to check up on the money in his cash drawer and in his purse—to which statement the neighbor at his right gave a sage nod. Sam knew too well to trust any Sapp to count his money for him without being watched. He was not born yesterday.

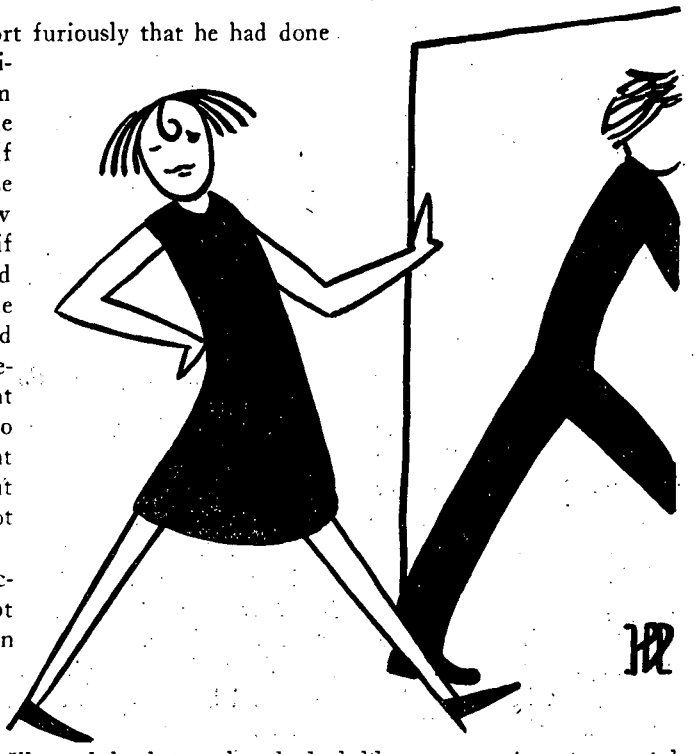
Mrs. Sapp snapped sardonically to this boast that no doubt he was not born yesterday. In point of fact he had been born forty-nine years ago and Dominica but nineteen. That was a great way for a man of forty-nine to behave—to ensnare a young girl thirty years younger than himself—younger than his own son. That was not being born yesterday indeed! Mrs. Sapp then appealed to the court. If Sam could bring Illy in to answer for her taking the purse from under his mattress, why could not Dominica be made to appear to account for the passage money she had not repaid her father? This brought up a new complication. For whereas Illy was sixteen, and therefore to be tried in one court, Dominica was nineteen, and would have to be tried in another. Moreover, Dominica had been heard by the neighbor to say that the money in her purse was not hers but Sam's, and for this reason not subject to her father's inspection, nor to be used to pay any debt she might owe him.

"Ha," shouted Mrs. Sapp once more. "Dominica now says that it was Sam's money, so as to keep it from her father. Before, she said that it was her money so as to keep it from Sam. What is to be done with such a daughter?"

Sam now began to smile broadly. "In my house, my money," he ventured rashly, to which Illy shrieked, "And if I bring my purse inside the butcher's shop, then does my money belong to the butcher?"—a length to which Sam hardly cared to go, and shrugged his shoulders in disgust.

One more matter was left to be cleared up. If Illy's father had $200 owed him, why had he returned $12 to Dominica? It seemed an odd thing to do under the circumstances, but was readily explained. The purpose of the purloined purse was not so much the refunding of the debt, as to confound Dominica with her lies by proving that she had the money. Twenty dollars was therefore kept on the debt, but $12 returned as a gesture from her father to show that he could be generous, and asked her only to be just. "Besides," ventured Illy, "my father happened to need $20 that day!"

The case which had started with Illy, had ramified so far from its beginning, that we strove to bring it back in order to draw it to a finish. Sam was asked by the court if he still cared to prosecute upon the original charge. But he said that he had now decided to increase the sum Illy was alleged to have stolen, since he knew she had stolen much more than the amount he had so generously fixed upon, that she played his victrola so that he could not hear her take it—in short she was a notorious thief and had had a court record before—which turned out to be true. The only drawback to this new avenue of approach was that Sam was also found to have had a court record on a much more serious charge. At this verified report Sam hurriedly signified his willingness to drop historical research into Illy's past if she would do the same for his.



Illy indulged in what looked like a pure American wink

(*Continued on page* 164)

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Our Particularly Happy Opportunity

By JOHN ERSKINE

SOME of us spent a very delightful evening recently with Andre Sigfried, the author of America Comes of Age. He explained his point of view, cultured, highly intelligent. He says that Europe is worried over the American peril, fearing the bad effect especially of our means of producing wealth. He points out the achievements and culture that we all owe to the Old World, and very delicately but firmly he implies the lack of all that sort of thing in those of us who are well fed over here on this side of the Atlantic. In part he is right.

But I can't help feeling that we have on this side of the Atlantic something entirely fresh—a particularly happy opportunity to solve a problem which has never yet been solved. Our history is a series of the cycles of culture which came to a climax in the elite of the classical period, of those people long before Helen who came down from the north and developed into the Greeks we know; which came to a climax with the Romans; again with the aristocracies of the thirteenth century, and again with the aristocracies of the eighteenth. We have had one cycle after another, ending always in a climax of culture which has promptly been overwhelmed by the people underneath that did not share it.

And I can't help thinking how in our casual visits abroad, our enjoyment of some chateau or castle is broken in upon by a half-curious, half-shuddering glimpse given us into an ancient torture chamber. If we study the old records, we know that the daily life of the people of those times contained a sum of human agony which no single torture chamber could confine. We know that there are still people who think that suffering, bad health, misery are somehow the will of God and good for our souls.

It is because of that old philosophy that friends of ours from the other side can speak of our health and comfort with a tone of reproach. They speak of mass production. Perhaps they are thinking of works of art, which should contain the personal touch of the soul that dreamed the thing. Good! But an American reflection occurs to us—that those works of art can be owned and enjoyed by the very few and the very privileged. Our country has been recruited from people who were not among the few and the privileged.

There are some things that have to be produced in mass, and one of them is health. One nurse isn't enough, nor one health center. I am so thoroughly convinced of this idea, that though I look with envy on the European universities, built to train people who are already trained, I think our business is to keep an eye on those that have yet had no training whatever. We must watch our step. These revolutions that I speak of, these cycles, are not things of the past, and we know that perfectly well, if we understand what has happened in Russia.

I am not speaking of Europe as though it were a civilization apart from us. I am thinking of all western culture, which on one side, on our side, has a chance which the eastern culture did not have. That is why the eastern culture blew up.

When Europeans talk of our automobiles, especially Mr. Ford's kind, which the workingman and his family can enjoy, or when they talk of the opportunity which we give to people who come to the universities not properly equipped to appreciate education, or when they say we have ruined our younger generation by giving them too much freedom, I want to tell them that the first thing we did, because of the riches of the country and because of the hunger of the people who came here, was to provide food for everybody. A great deal of the docility of the young and of the working classes in the past has come from undernourishment. I was accustomed in my childhood to see a number of sick or at least sickly boys in any group I entered. If we happened to have the measles we spread the gift. In our best schools and colleges now you see no sick boys or girls. If they are sick, they are in the hospital. We don't do it out of any silly sentimentality; we do it out of the merest prudence for the whole of society.

IT is going to be the same way with our cities, sooner or later. If ever we properly educate America it will cost us high. If ever we really share food, and health, and the elementary comforts it will cost a ghastly amount.

The American experiment, if we put it through, will really be an experiment to pay the cost normally, and with an equal division over all the years. If we don't pay we shall simply get one more cycle of history, friends; we shall blow up as the other civilizations have done, and pay the cost all at once. Now that we are in a psychological age, we know that no dynamite is worse than the idea that your neighbor has cheated you of your chance to live. Whether he cheated you consciously, or unconsciously, makes no difference after the idea gets you.

The Henry Street Nurses throw a talking picture on the screen and we listen with glee at seeing the baby washed. But I wonder if we see all the consequences that flow from that for the whole of our civilization. We never should have washed him. We should have let him die, and figured it in the high rate of mortality which in the past has been safety for the elite. But if we are going to let him live, he is either one of us, or he is a frightful liability.

I will not admit, no matter what Europe tells me of its culture, that it was well for Chopin, or John Keats, to be tubercular, and I won't admit that it was necessary. Culture wasn't founded in bad health. I get up no enthusiasm over the heroism of Beethoven in his sufferings. He should have had a good doctor. If you tell me that if he had had good health we should not have had his music, I do not believe you, or if it is true, I'll give up the music.

We either mean that life, as a good thing, is as good for the other fellow as for ourselves, or else we are really not civilized at all, and our pretence at religion, philosophy or culture is absolute self-delusion.

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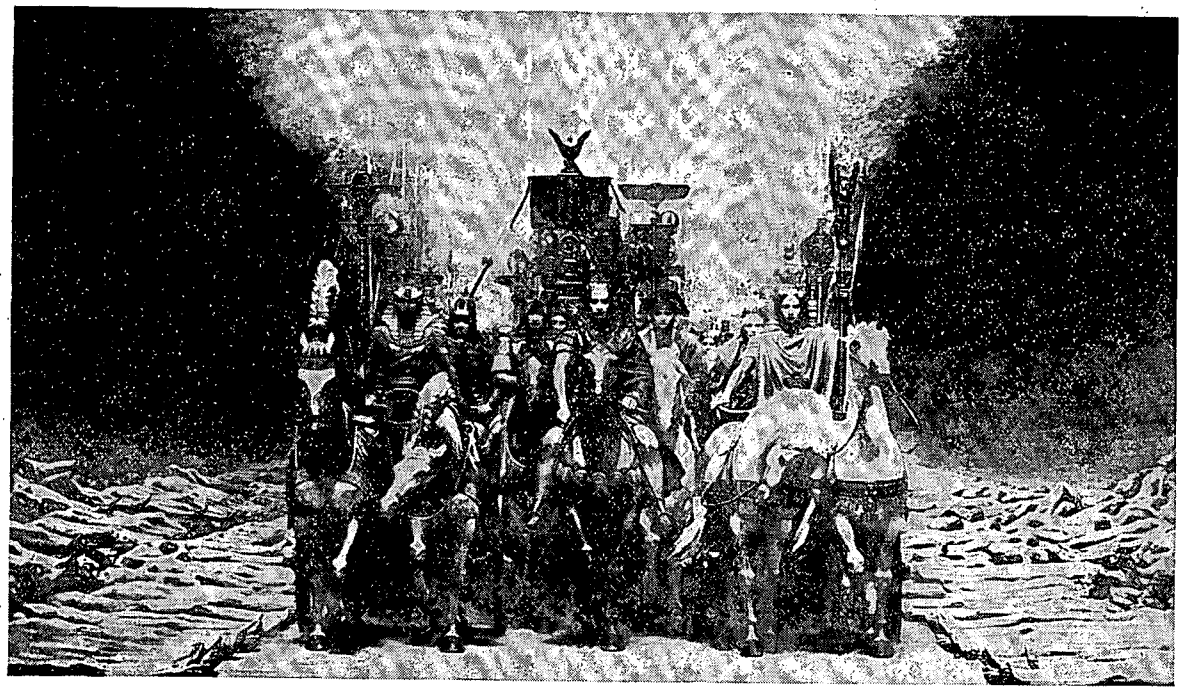

The Conquerors. A painting by the well-known French artist Pierre Fritel

THROUGH NEIGHBORS' DOORWAYS

From Conquest to Conference

By JOHN PALMER GAVIT

HERE are the waymarks in the long road from Chaos and Old Night—on the ever-dreamed-of way to unity in the bond of peace. The ceaseless search for the common denominator of real concern and faith, to be found among the outwardly conflicting interests. Even these futile "conquerors" were searching. . . . In those days there were conferences of a sort after the mutually devastating wars; and sometimes even fine phrases about peace and friendship ever after. Usually they were mere squabbles about division of the swag. The big dogs got the big bones, and no shame about it; the others sat back, awaiting the next chance to grab. Even now, the veneer of what we are pleased to call "civilization" is pitifully thin; it takes little to tear through it. But try to find somebody outside of a madhouse who can see any sort of sense or glory in the symbolizing panorama spread across this page: Pierre Fritel's famous picture, The Conquerors. Have it in the background of your thought, measuring the distance we have come, as you consider the results of the naval conference (still uncertain as these words are written); however disappointing they may seem. To say nothing of the bad black days of old—even compared with attempts very recent, there is to be discerned some unmistakable difference in *tone*. To those who realize how portentous for the long future is the new technique, the gains are worth more than the cost. And we shall try again, and yet again. The progress of mankind is by inches.

Outstanding is the fact that nowadays anything less than complete success calls for apologies and alibis. After the fiasco of 1927 at Geneva the American and British delegations went home to face a public opinion the measure of whose desire they had not realized; though they came to do so in some degree in the outcry against the immense naval appropriation bill which ensued upon that failure. But a more significant thing is the change in the personnel and point of view of the conferees—at least so far as the United States and Great Britain are concerned. Hitherto these gatherings have been more or less dominated by professional military experts, and bedevilled by hired lobbyists of the ship-builders and munition-makers. This time the job has been as it should be in the hands of civilians; the naval experts have been kept in the background where they belong, and (so far as has yet been disclosed anyway) the hired "accelerator" has been at least inconspicuous. The main factor in success, whatever its measure, has been that indispensable catalyst, *the wish to succeed.*

IT IS all too easy to attribute superior righteousness to ourselves, with Great Britain, and Japan following suit, and pointing fingers of scorn at France and Italy as bad boys in the situation. We had nothing to lose by any sort of outcome; as long ago as 1921 the British realized (and indicated it in assenting to substantial parity with us) that their day of overwhelming superiority at sea was over; and the Japanese know well enough that no naval statistics could advantage them against an Anglo-American accord. The problems of France and Italy—France *versus* Italy, if you get any satisfaction out of putting it that way—are real. France has guaranteed the liberty and territorial integrity of the Little Entente, and has better than plausible excuse for her demand that somebody shall help her go bail for all that before she hands over her weapons to the peace-makers. And Italy—if there is any reason why she should play second fiddle to France, certainly Mussolini is hardly in the mood to acknowledge it. I confess that I do not clearly see it myself. It is open to question

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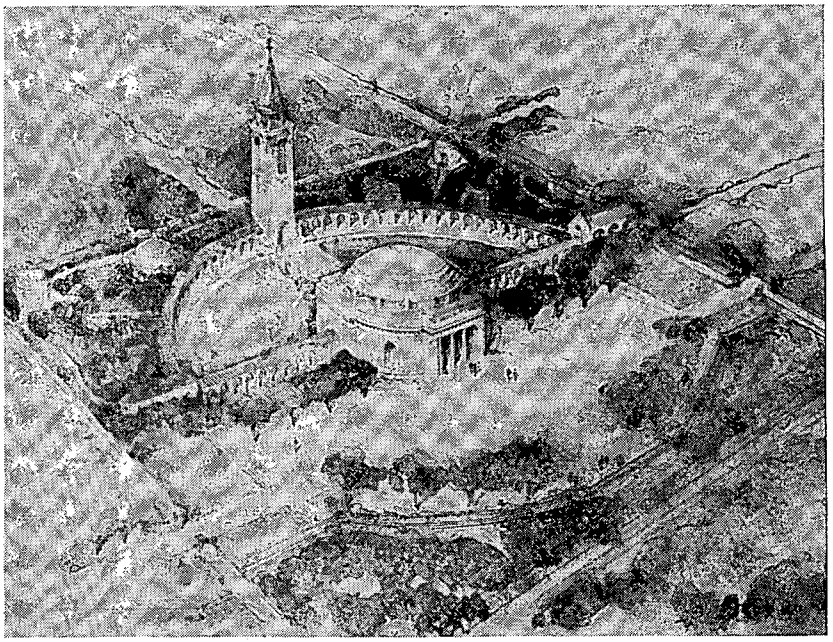
whether Mr. Hoover and Ramsay MacDonald's widely-advertised foregathering did not actually injure the cause by an apparent assumption that the desire for disarmament and world peace was somehow an "Anglo-Saxon" specialty. Before the conference began, that prejudice as against the two principal Latin nations had been however inadvertently dramatized.

OUR own position will be evident, not in any fine words said at London or in impeccable speeches by Mr. Hoover; but in the attitude and action of the Senate of the United States toward whatever treaty may be brought home. And even while our delegates have been working and talking in all good faith in the cause of physical disarmament; professing the highest intent of harmlessness and friendship toward all the earth, Congress has been adding layers and spikes upon the tariff wall whose effects upon their own lives and industries speak to other nations infinitely more loudly than the most honeyed phrases. By our own ever-increasing embargo upon their products—even while resenting every suggestion of similar action on their part against our own—we are inciting against ourselves a force of bitterness against which no tonnage of battleships or calibre of guns can defend us. Even as we do so, Europe envisions and discusses a "tariff truce" in the interest of mutual commerce. Readily can its advantages to them be turned into disadvantages for us. As a little boy friend once informed me, "not even God Almighty can make a dog's tail with only one end"!

The Hall of Peace at Geneva

WHEN Dhan Gopal Mukerji's mother—"a very simple woman," as he describes her in his Caste and Outcaste—heard that her high-caste son had become interested in Christianity, she was not disturbed. "God is one," she said, "why should we quarrel about His *names*?"

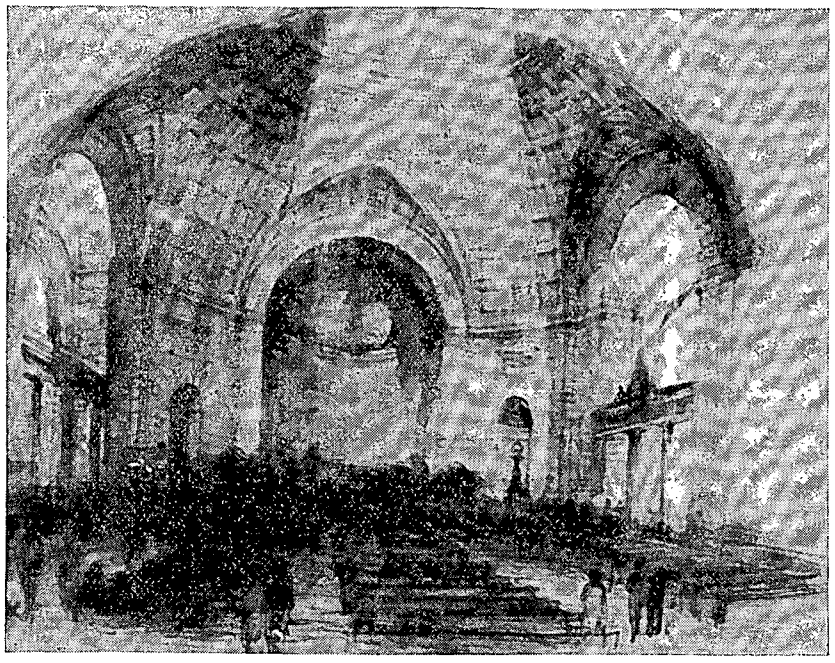
That is the spirit underlying an idea which for four years has been trying to get expression for itself: the idea of an All-Inclusive Spiritual Center at Geneva. The illustrations printed herewith show one design for it, by the architects



The exterior of the proposed all-inclusive Spiritual Center at Geneva

Delano & Aldrich of New York, a gift to the group which is trying to get the idea down out of the region of aspiration, with its feet upon the ground. It would require a very long story to describe the progress of the idea, the modifications that have been made in its wording, to meet the views, compunctions and objections of many men and women, of many minds and faiths. It is no small task, merely to phrase an expression of what is common to many forms of need and conviction in the field called "religious"; to avoid short of the vanishing-point expressions saturated with old controversy; expressions which, however lovely their significance to one group, have acquired meanings altogether hateful to another.

THE idea first took being, in the summer of 1926, in the thought of Mrs. Katharine Pedrick Brackett, who with her husband, the distinguished orthopedist Dr. Elliott Gray Brackett of Boston, was attending various lecture-courses, and the Assembly of the League of Nations, at Geneva. By a process of attrition, concession, compromise—anything you want to call the broadest-minded, most ungrudging effort to yield anything but the essential idea in the effort to find and express the common denominator—there resulted the Petition for the establishment of an unsectarian religious center. Almost immediately was abandoned the first natural impulse to seek adoption of the idea by the League of Nations itself—the objections and obstacles quickly appeared as obvious. Abandoned likewise was a thought of embodying a memorial to those of all nations fallen in the World War. Congenial seemed the project of a carillon, a chime of bells to ring out across the broad lake of Geneva at eventide. The thing that has most impressed me, watching the growth of the idea from the beginning, has been the eagerness of those concerned in perfecting it, to make it truly an expression of unity of spirit; free of every cause of rivalry or controversy. For a fine example, the idea of a carillon has been central in the design. The last word I have received is that since perhaps the plan for the proposed Woodrow Wilson Memorial at Geneva may include a carillon—very well, Mrs. Brackett and her colleagues are (*Continued on page* 164)



The interior. The designs for the Center are by Delano and Aldrich

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Letters & Life

In which books, plays and people are discussed

Edited by LEON WHIPPLE

Gags and Shackles

WHO'S OBSCENE? *by Mary Ware Dennett. Vanguard Press. 281 pp. Price $2.50 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*
CENSORED: *The Private Life of the Movies by Morris L. Ernst and Pare Lorentz. Cape & Smith. 199 pp. Price $2.75 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*
INDECENCY AND THE SEVEN ARTS, *by Horace M. Kallen. Liveright. 246 pp. Price $2.50 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*
THOREAU, PHILOSOPHER OF FREEDOM, *edited by James Mackaye. Vanguard Press. 288 pp. Price $3.00 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*
THE VOICE OF FREEDOM: *An Anthology of Liberty, edited by Henry W. Nevinson. Dutton. 304 pp. Price $2.00 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*
MEDDLERS, *by H. I. Brock. Ives Washburn. 307 pp. Price $3.00 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

THE name censor comes from Rome where two magistrates were appointed to take the census and to regulate, with police powers, the morals and manners of the people. In the United States today the official censors try to protect us from evil communications, chiefly on sex or sedition, in the mails, in imported books, in movie films, and in plays. Volunteer censors too lend a hand, and fence off new fields whence they fear the people may draw corruption of their morals or their patriotism. Both the official and unofficial censors have been so foolish and obscurantist (as censors ever are) that a violent rebellion against all social control of communication has broken out. "Abolish all censors, and let the people choose the good from the evil," is the challenge. "Beware lest you give freedom to the unscrupulous to debase the young and weak," reply certain others.

The debate is healthful. It really centers around a profound dilemma: How can the people (who govern in a rough sense) be persuaded to keep the channels of communication open for new ways of life or art when they are taught that these new ways threaten the morals of their children or the social forms they feel are the bases of their society? That is not a question for idle talk, but for seeking. The present books are guideposts for the search.

The postal censors certainly overshot the mark when they secured a conviction of Mary Ware Dennett for mailing a pamphlet, The Sex Side of Life, that she had written in 1915 for her sons, aged eleven and fourteen. This booklet had circulated some 25,000 copies, often from the most respectable organizations, including a theological seminary and the Christian associations. But no evidence as to her motives or expert testimony as to the value of her work was admitted at her trial in 1929. The story of the prosecution is here told with calmness and fine courage. The booklet itself is reprinted, as is the opinion of the United States Circuit Court that recently reversed the judgment and fine of $300. The booklet speaks for itself and Judge Learned Hand speaks for all intelligent Americans in one of the most enlightened rulings ever recorded in a postal obscenity case. It declares that the trial judge erred in ever submitting to the jury a writing that was clearly educational, and not "obscene, lewd, or lascivious." Anything dealing with sex may arouse lust—

> But it can hardly be said that because of the risk of arousing sex impulses there should be no instruction of the young in sex matters . . . . The old theory that information about sex matters should be left to chance has greatly changed. . . . This law must be construed reasonably. The defendant's discussion of the phenomena of sex is written with sincerity of feeling and with an idealization of the marriage relation and sex emotion. . . . While it may be thought by some that portions of the tract go into unnecessary details . . . it may also reasonably be thought that accurate information rather than mystery and curiosity is better in the long run and is less likely to occasion lascivious thoughts than ignorance and anxiety. . . . There is bound to be a wide difference of opinion. . . . The direct aim and the net result is to promote understanding and self-control.

Mrs. Dennett may feel that her sufferings, and Morris Ernst, her attorney, that his labors were justified by getting such a modern view in the record. Certainly her experience lends weight to her clear criticism of the obscenity statute, and her suggested changes. "It is time when upstanding citizens must put their heads together and frame a rational demand for the renovation of the laws." She herself believes, I think, that we may trust the people with complete freedom, with faith that a decent public opinion will control crass commercial pornography and that the careful education of our own children will make them proof against the smut they will inevitably be subjected to. Others may believe that the public opinion that could not be mustered in her defence or that failed to recognize the educational nature of her publication will be a weak bulwark against real obscenity; and that to educate the child, we may need somehow to control the sources of that education. If we do not abolish the law, she urges that we separate the three crimes now in one statute, obscenity, the procuring of abortion, and the dissemination of contraceptive information, and give them clear objective definition. It would be better to aim at these evils through federal or state criminal laws and not interfere with the precious right of free communication. This is a wise and sound study that you will find instructive reading.

CENSORED proves very thoroughly that our movies are viewed and cut by official boards in six states in senseless and indiscriminating ways. They make stupid films foolish, and serious ones meaningless. The censors are ill-fitted for their task, and opinionated—though I do not think this justifies some of the ridicule here cast upon them for irrelevant reasons. But these authors are not beating straw-men with pigs' bladders. These state boards do set rules for the producers, and it is clear they would never pass any controversial social discussion or experimental mood in esthetics. They dare not, for prodding them on are three forces: the politicians, the religious conservatives, and the club women, according to this analysis. The fifth industry of the United States is glad enough to listen to these powers for if they are pleased, vast audiences will also be pleased, and mass production make possible vast profits. They are barometers of taste eagerly read by Will Hays, middleman and press-agent of the business. The Supreme Court has decided that the movies are a business and not an educational force: they are therefore outside the protection of the federal guarantee of free opinion and free press.

This study is superficial and light in style; it is not to be compared for depth and wisdom with the scholarly To The

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Pure . . . by Morris Ernst and William Seagle. The intent was doubtless to get the message to the people, in gay and readable form. But the main facts are here, and especially valuable are the final chapters on the growing power of interlocking economic and public utility interests over stage, cinema, radio, and even the press. These are not interested in either art or education, but dividends; and they will not oppose censorship that gives them an index to adapt mass production to mass minds. The final picture of a prosperous people accepting cheap and prudish unreality for entertainment with all economic and political discussion cut out by business control is one to give us pause. Think of this propaganda machine at work in war!

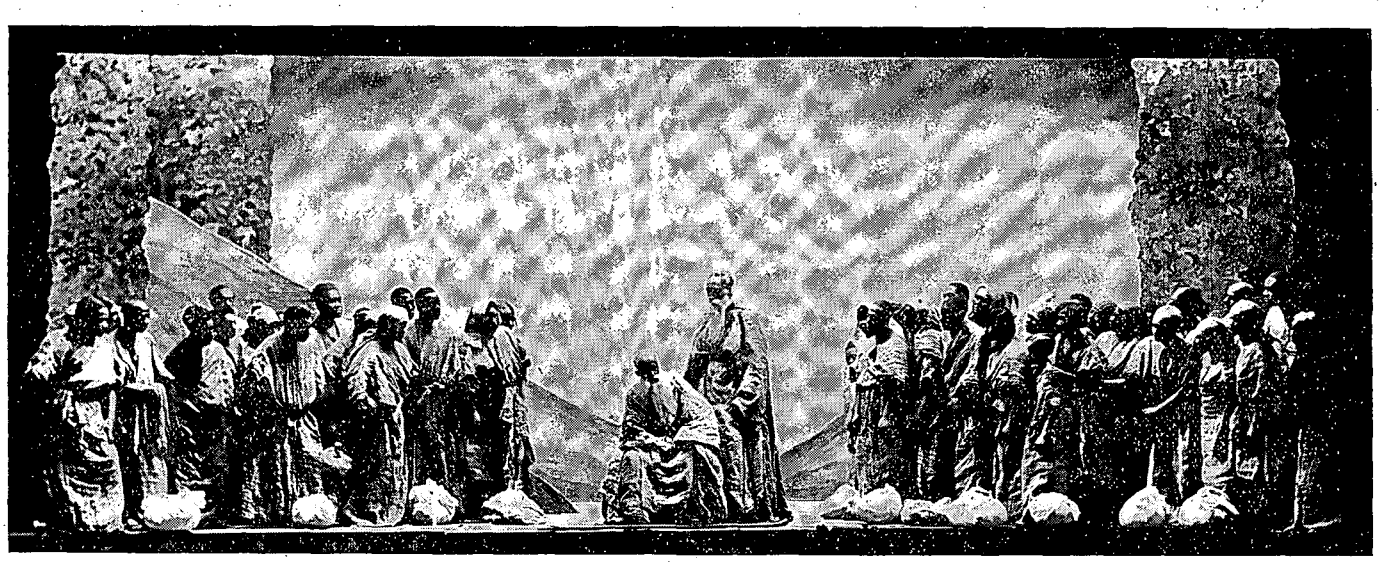
HORACE KALLEN considers censorship in two of his interesting essays "toward a pragmatic esthetics." The root of the matter is the enduring sense of shame in human nature, based on fear of exposure. Therefore we always have had censors to condemn and stifle what outrages this sense: their standards vary as the forms of culture vary: for us the Pauline ascetic doctrine has divorced us from naturalism in sex and also sharpened sex tensions. The censors are really relieving their own repressions, under guise of protecting the public welfare. Greed, fear, and this sense of shame create police bodies that, to keep themselves busy, must constantly refine their sensibilities to get new objects to censor. They regard the movies as peculiarly dangerous because they reach such a vast miscellaneous audience and because the realism of pictures arouses emotions of greater immediacy than the suggestions of print.

Mr. Kallen denies this view; he does not believe that any of the arts has by itself much influence over conduct. Rather they sublimate or abort the dangerous tendencies, and are safety valves that restore balance by vicarious reliefs. The people are not moved toward vice and rebellion by the arts, but the rebellion may come from a prolonged restriction and starvation. The same note is struck by the authors of Censored who think that the financial masters and censors are so dull and humorless that boredom with all "canned" art will bring rebellion against being kept pure, honest, and dumb. The real task, says Mr. Kallen, is to find out the deep unrests and hungers in the public, and help the motion pictures "healthily and happily to enchannel these."

THE answer may, perchance, be the refusal of people to be enchanneled at all, and the reassertion of sturdy self-bottomed individualism. If we had no herds, regimented by their economic insecurity, we would have no herd art, and we could trust each man or woman to winnow the chaff from the wheat, with native sense and independence. The text-book of that rebellion would be the writings of Thoreau. We congratulate the Vanguard Press and Professor James Mackaye on this timely offering of the essays on freedom of the Puritan "iconoclast and stoic." How splendid was his selfhood! How great the present need for his salty disciplines! He denied the government's right to control him, and he escaped the net of economics by making his needs so small that they never enthralled him. We may admit that our complex life demands more cooperation, through government or otherwise, and that some of his independence was because he had no family to knit him into society, but withal he preaches what we need above all else. The selection of his works, including Civil Disobedience, John Brown, Walden, is admirable, and the form extraordinarily inviting. The pages let the man and the miraculous serenity, charm, and vigor of his style stand forth in naked power. This man wrote a book of the century, not of the month. He is fresh mountain air for a stifled age.

INSPIRING, too, is Nevinson's anthology of great prose and verse in praise and defence of freedom. Here are splendid memorials that teach us how long the struggle for liberty has been, and how always liberty has found champions from Magna Charta to William Wordsworth and Bertrand Russell. The selections are all from Englishmen, and deal principally with political and religious freedom: we wish there had been more on this new conundrum of liberty in democracy. But the principles and the spirit remain the same. Robert Kett (hanged in 1549) reads like a modern crusader; the petition of women (1641) for religious rights might have been addressed to Russia today. The battle is never won, but we can take courage from this roll-call and live up to our ancestors!

MEDDLERS is a gay book—a horrendous catalog of the forces the author believes are meddling with American folk-ways and opinions. He is like the celebrated aide-de-camp who mounted his horse and rode off madly in all directions. Chiefly his lance is aimed at the surviving spirit of Puritanism that seeks to reform other people through the laws or social coercion, and his Exhibit A is prohibition. But he finds meddlers behind every bush: the fundamentalists are strange bedfellows of the psychoanalyst witch-doctors; the peace advocates and the patriotic folks are pro and con of one evil; the public relations counsellor who molds our habits is somehow listed with the "school ma'rm" who because she is the mainstay of education and descended in the New England tradition, meddles with the minds of the young. The colleges endowed by wealth,



A scene from Green Pastures, the moving play by Marc Connelly. Robert Edmond Jones has created settings of a colorful simplicity. Reviewed on page 156 by Leon Whipple

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the press that meddles by not giving a true picture of life even the societies for the prevention of cruelty to children and to animals are all fitted into this picture. One is left benumbed by this kaleidoscope of contending forces: it must be a rare citizen who would not be labelled "meddler" under some of Mr. Brock's categories. The sum is exciting, and often penetrant, but not convincing that all we need for salvation is a pogrom of meddlers.

To help our search for added wisdom, Mr. Brock could have been fuller on meddlers for conscience' sake versus meddlers for profit and explained how to distinguish their good from their bad deeds. He admits some good even in Comstock. We need substantive criteria. This universal joyous lambasting does not get us forrader, unless we deduce a need for the resistant individualism Thoreau preached. But Thoreau might ask Mr. Brock how he proposes to fortify mass-man with a courage and independence equal to resisting or using such warring forces.

What to do? Shall we abandon the rule of reason for *laissez-faire,* with no groups or public persuasion? Or shall we grow callous to all propaganda and all censors for the sake of our private adventure on an ivory tower? If so, why such a pother of talk? I prefer to think this ferment means energy, aliveness, self-education. There is evolution by the survival of fit ideas as of fit bodies. Even the censor is one other antagonist in the arena—neither censor or meddler ever really conquered Truth.

LEON WHIPPLE

Walking With the Lord

THE GREEN PASTURES, *A Play, by Marc Connelly. The Mansfield Theater, New York.*

THIS rich age has everything but poetry and faith. These we must borrow. But we are learning our need . . . hence the miracle of The Green Pastures wherein the Bible story of God and his creature, Man, comes to beautiful life through the poetry and faith in the hearts of the Southern rural Negro. It *is* a miracle that here in New York in 1930 people high and low are moved, as they have not been moved in a generation, by this play that tells in simple, gay, and reverent drama how God made the Earth and Adam and Eva and how God suffers and labors to save his blind and wanton children from their folly. For the Negro poets who made the spirituals on which the play is founded created a loving God and patient. They needed Him . . . and so do the audiences at the Mansfield. They rejoice in his might and justice when he launches thunder-bolts, but they love Him when he tells Gabriel to put the bolts back in the box and when, having fixed a star that is out of kelter, He asks after the sparrow that has fallen and bruised her wing. Meanwhile Gabriel, polishing his trumpet on his golden robe, begs to loose the blast that will end this race that causes the Lord so much trouble. But the blast is not blown: there is still hope for Man.

The fable is simple: the Negro children at Sunday School are questioning the preacher about the Old Testament. The answer is the play in terms of Negro myth. The angels are discovered at a heavenly fish-fry, preening their wings, while a heavenly choir sings spirituals. For each scene we hear a new spiritual by this unseen chorus that interprets as did the Greek chorus. The Lord enters to the thunderous line: "Gangway for the Lord God Jehovah!" He is calm and benevolent, in the black tail-coat, soft hat, and string-tie of the old-time minister, and nobly played by Richard Harrison. We may say at once, that these Negro actors all play with just feeling, beauty, and reverence. The Lord creates the earth and forgets all about the place. Then descends on a visit and makes Adam and Eve; Cain and Abel bring tragedy; the Lord walks the earth again and discovers its wickedness, meets Noah and sends the Flood. Humor and cosmic tragedy mingle here around a shanty-boat that suddenly looms vast as what Gabriel calls a "complete" rain dooms the people. Noah is dubious about so many snakes and wants two "kags of likker" to balance the Ark. The Lord lets him take one. That may sound irreverent, but it is natural as sunshine in Marc Connelly's miracle play.

So the ancient tales unroll (with God sometimes puzzled in his Office on high, cleaned by maids with wings in dust-covers) and reaches its supreme emotion when the Children of Israel march across the stage in sight of Can-yan. Moses, first seen as a bold youth before Pharaoh, falters to a rock, weary, denied entrance to the Promised Land. The Lord finds him, comforts him, leads him up the mountain, saying, "I'll show you a Promised Land on earth." That is one of the great moments of the modern stage, when gorgeous setting, actors, words, and lesson dim our eyes with tragic beauty.

One cannot describe this play. I can only hope that you will see it somehow somewhere. Hebrew prophets and poets wrote these Scriptures and Southern Christians taught them to their slaves. Preachers and poets of this humble race wove them into childlike versions of their hope and fear. Roark Bradford gathered them into a book, Ol' Man Adam an' His Chillun' and Marc Connelly translated this folk religion to the stage. Then we hunted up Negro actors and singers to lend their own images life and beauty. So moderns find the way back to green pastures beside still waters. We have borrowed poetry and faith, borrowed them just from Man who borrowed them from the Lord.

LEON WHIPPLE

The "Unthinkable" War

AMERICA CONQUERS BRITAIN, *by Ludwell Denny. Knopf.* 441 *pp. Price* $4.00 *postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

WHEN naval disarmament is again before the world such a thought-provoking book as this is highly important. We have become very familiar in recent years with the economic interpretation of history and politics. Now Mr. Denny offers us the economic interpretation of America's imperialism and informs us that it will probably bring this country into armed conflict with Britain. He very clearly outlines the antagonistic interests of the two countries in industries, finance, shipping, communications, and raw materials. In the struggle for the markets of the world and for the basic products, Britain is pictured as playing a losing game, fighting with her back to the wall. The British supremacy, developed because of her early adoption of industrialism, made her dependent on imports of cheap food and of raw materials, and on overseas markets. But now she is faced with over-population, antiquated plant, and competition from protected industries even in her own dominions. But the chief rival is the United States with its great home market, its modern machinery and efficient labor. This economic war which is now in progress, may be turned at any moment—though "war is unthinkable"—into a "Holy War." It can be averted only by Britain admitting defeat and becoming America's colony.

This is not a cheerful prospect. Is it sound? We may, I think, accept the facts of international rivalry as Mr. Denny states them. It may be that Britain is on the downward path. America probably will dominate the world markets. But if Mr. Denny means more than this we need not follow. In the first place economic "interpreters" do not agree as to which of the economic factors gives political power—production, distribution, and so on. Secondly, he has proved too much. The greater the American interest abroad the greater her need for the *status quo.* Britain did not develop her industrial empire by war on European powers, she did it in a century of peace, while other countries fought. His use of Anglo-German rivalry and the war in 1914 as an analogy is very popular but misleading. Neither British nor German industrialists sought the war; the German diplomats expected Britain to stay out of the war. Business men as well as economists recognize that productive neighbors are the best.

This brings us to the last point. War is too expensive for

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the conqueror. *Vide* Norman Angell, The Great Illusion, as sound today as twenty years ago. Whatever the conflicts of economic life, politics exists not as Mr. Denny would imagine for their furtherance, but for their solution. The political organization of 1914 was inadequate to prevent war. It is for our statesmen to provide machinery to mitigate and harmonize the discordant factors of life. Mr. Denny's book is useful to show the task, but is bad if it seeks to show that the end is unattainable. I feel sure there is a method of preventing this war. To find it is the chief reason for politicians.

Rutgers University H. McD. Clokie

POTENT LEISURE

(*Continued from page* 137)

and the evening was spent in discussing it. Then one of these men suggested the idea of forming such a club to a few of the younger people in the factory and helped one of them to work up a subject for discussion at the first meeting. Soon the club was in vigorous swing only coming to him now and then for suggestions as to subjects or activities. In the same way he started another and then another until there were about a dozen clubs, some over nine years old.

The clubs were of all sorts, depending on the tastes of the members. General discussion clubs that took subjects varying from the place of Latin in public school education to the breeding of Boston bull terrier puppies; biography clubs; reading clubs. Regardless of the subject or the book, the discussion was almost always in the light of present-day problems. A group of supervisors and foremen rated Henry Ford and other men whose lives they read, on the "foreman's rating scale" used at their plant. A group of factory girls, after reading the life of Helen Keller, became so interested in discussing what she could do in their factory, that they went to their superintendent and asked him if he thought he could find a place for her if she applied for a job. The members of a reading club became so interested in a heated discussion of what they would do if a large sum of money were offered to a child of one of them, as it was to "Pip" in Dickens' Great Expectations, that several of them branched off into reading child psychology. It was this relating of the book or subject to their present interest and problems that gave these discussions reality to these factory people. It was the suggesting of questions that brought out this relationship, that was of greatest help in getting these clubs "on their feet."

Although the clubs were all different and the books and subjects endlessly varied, they had one thing in common: none of them had a leader.

Leadership in such self-expressive activity requires self-restraint. It is much easier to do a thing than to watch a pupil struggling to do it crudely in his own way. It is always hard to allow individuals for whom one feels responsible to make the mistakes that are inevitable if they are to have sufficient freedom to express their own individuality. Besides, creative leadership is still pioneer work. With few precedents to guide him, a leader must have insight and ingenuity to devise ways of combining leadership with free expression. Moreover, as all leaders who care enough for their work to be worth anything are bound to feel the pain of having dependence on their leadership outgrown, to make the goal of leadership the developing of ability to get along without being led, is to set for the leader a self-denying aim.

Still leadership that is not toward independence and self-expression is sterile and casts over leisure the same type of influence that the standardized job casts over work. There is the heart of the matter. With the standardized job has come a leisure too ample to be merely innocently employed. However it is used, it will exert its influence over the entire lives and characters of the workers. In spite of its dangers the fact remains that if it is used for fertile self-expressive activity, it can lift men out of the job-rut. In the creative use of leisure rests the opportunity for the worker to attain greater richness and significance of living. In its creative use lies much of the hope of America for developing the character and capacity for self-government of the people in whose hands rests the ultimate governing power.

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THE GATHERING STORM IN ASIA

(*Continued from page* 145)

effort to maintain his own leadership and to keep the movement from self-destruction by falling into violence.

Long before these lines can appear in print the results of the symbolic pilgrimage to the seacoast will be known to the world, and for good or ill the decisions of Lord Irwin and the MacDonald Cabinet will have been made. Hence it cannot be worth while, in the midst of a swiftly changing scene, to discuss the details of Mr. Gandhi's campaign of disobedience or to attempt a forecast of its results. But it is important that Western readers should be helped to an understanding of the forces that have been aroused in India, and of the significance of the crusade of Non-violence in relation to other great Asiatic movements, especially those that in the past ten years have transformed the Moslem lands.

There can, of course, be no difference of opinion as to the extent and power of the Gandhist influence in India. It is an unexampled phenomenon. The Mahatma is the most extraordinary popular leader ever known. His followers are counted by the ten of millions. For many years past he has moved up and down India amid continual excitement, accompanied by the murmur of multitudes stirred to the depths. No leader of modern India, or of any other country, has seemed to be so complete an embodiment of a racial spirit or purpose. And yet nothing is clearer than this: that the Government of India cannot deal with Mr. Gandhi as a representative of the whole Indian people, or even of a majority of the Indian people, or treat his demands as those of a political leader capable of negotiating on behalf of a national party. The Mahatma is, in a unique degree, a prophetic Indian figure, but in his political standing there is no stability or consistency; nor was he, even during the short stage of the Hindu-Moslem accord, eight or nine years ago, able to give effect to any part of his positive program. Moreover, during the past two years he has occupied a position of increasing difficulty among his own people. When the independence resolution was first moved in the National Congress, Mr. Gandhi was firmly against it. He had, however, at the end of 1928, agreed under extreme pressure to the ultimatum, with its one year of grace for the British authorities; but he had done so undoubtedly in the hope that a change of government in England would enable him to find a way out of the dilemma. By the time that change occurred Mr. Gandhi, as his letter to the Viceroy showed, had become aware that his own power of control was waning. Direct action was forced upon him by the circumstances of 1929. Nehru and the political extremists would, beyond all question, have repudiated his leadership altogether if he had not resolved, first to accept the independence resolution, and secondly to take some step that would be recognized throughout India as a defiance of the imperial power. In other words, Mr. Gandhi, after the advent of the MacDonald Government, had either to initiate the movement of mass civil disobedience, so long threatened, or else brush aside Jawaharlal Nehru and his hot head colleagues, make a provisional compact with Lord Irwin, and risk his political leadership by accepting MacDonald's offer of conference.

AS the world knows, he chose the former, and for three weeks of the spring the cables recorded the daily incidents of the painful pilgrimage of 200 miles to the Gulf of Cambay, ending, in the early hours of April 6th, with the ritual evaporation on the sands at Dandi of a handful of salt, in violation of the Government monopoly.

No descriptive words are needed to bring out the strangeness—or, as many would say, the sublimity—of that Sunday morning scene: the little naked figure of the Mahatma—meagre, elderly, calmly defiant—believing himself to be engaged in the first definite and conscious act for the destruction of a power which he has denounced as satanic, a curse to the Indian people. It is specially curious to note that the scene, enacted for the whole world, was witnessed by only a handful of actual spectators.

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And in the meantime, while the masses of India were being disturbed, since the Mahatma's movements make news in all the villages, the politically conscious classes were organizing against the Gandhi crusade. Among the Indian parties and leaders there is virtual agreement upon one matter, namely, that the old system of British India is doomed and the existing relationship between India and the ruling power must be brought to an end. Dominion status, or something practically equivalent to that, would probably represent the ideal of the large majority of educated Indians. But beyond this it would seem impossible at present to go. No sooner was the resolution of independence made public than the Moslem organizations declared against it and in favor of the British connection. The Hindu liberals or moderates, led by such men as Srinivasa Sastri and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, have always been opposed to Mr. Gandhi's idea and program. The trading and professional classes, and needless to say the Indian princes, regard the continuance of British rule as a matter of necessity and large convenience, while, in the vast fold of Hinduism itself, the multitudes of the disinherited, the Untouchables, would seem to have a primary interest in opposing a movement which, under leaders other than Gandhi, would mean for them an indefinite extension of their servitude. Manifestly, if the demand for immediate independence were backed by the organized bodies of Indian opinion, the early withdrawal of Britain would be certain. But all the evidence before us, at the time of the Gandhi demonstration, supports the contrary view.

I COME, in conclusion, to the still wider question of the Asiatic, or world, significance of the Mahatma and his movement—that is, the measure of the response among the Oriental peoples to the idea of redemption by non-violence. [The West thinks of this idea as purely eastern, as possible of adoption, by a large body of people in Asia alone, if any where. But how, as a matter of fact, does the idea and method of Non-violence stand in the Orient today? In India itself it must be conceived as possible only to people within the Hindu system, and plainly not acceptable to all of them. The 80 millions of Mohammedans must reject it: there is no passivity in Islam, no spirit which could be brought into harmony with the Gandhist principle of *Ahimsa,* soul-force and self-suffering. Nor is there, in the post-war world, any more startling phenomena than those displayed in the Islamic countries—one Moslem people after another, from Turkey in the West, through the Hedjaz, Irak, and Persia to the borders of the Mongolian world asserting itself, adapting its faith and customs, and insisting upon recognition, whether as modernist or orthodox.

Two things, surely, we may say about all this. The Gandhi movement and leadership in India were inevitable, but inevitable also was the refusal of Young India to be bound by the principle and example of the Mahatma.

The picture that is called up in the mind, as one thinks of the Indian multitudes, toiling age after age on the plains and in the valleys, is a picture which the figure of Gandhi fits with the logic of simple necessity. The Hindu, whether peasant or intellectual, has accepted the universe: not only life and pain, but inexorable destiny, the endless wheel of birth and death, the ineluctable law of Karma—whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap. In this system the method and principle of passive resistance, *Ahimsa,* is central, inescapable: a Gandhi must have arisen to give it a new and implacable expression. But at the time our modern age, the East no less than in the West, is an age of action, positive force, violence. The World War was a terrific proclamation of the Balkan proverb, "Better an end with horrors than horrors without an end." And so in India, among the younger men of Gandhi's own faith and social system. *Ahimsa* makes no appeal to them. They declare that submission is no virtue, and that in any case the Oriental has submitted more than enough. Their rejection of the Mahatma is the most momentous of decisions. They reject this intellectual repudiation of the West, of science and organization, no less emphatically than they renounce his principle of Non-violence. And who can wonder? The Mahatma and his voiceless adherents stand, as an island of mildness and soulforce in the midst of a continent which, from the Aegean to the China Sea, announces the effectiveness of direct action, assertion, violence.

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TOWARD A SCIENCE OF MAN

(*Continued from page* 125)

a third way by scorning anything in the field of deduction and grasping tightly any piece of floating jetsam in the stream of "science," becoming a bitter partisan on the other side.

In the field of law, in the handling of delinquency, present methods seem so obviously right to the lawyer. To the scientist they seem so obviously wrong. The difficulty is that the two are thinking in altogether different terms. On the basis on which the lawyer thinks he is completely right—starting with certain premises he reasons logically and well and his conclusions are correct. Every step is right except the first step—the premises from which he began to deduce. The scientist does not start with a premise, but with an observation. Provided he reasons as logically and well as the lawyer he, too, is right at the place where he comes out. Both are right, and both know it, and so the confusion of each when each must consider that the other is wrong. The difficulty is that science ignores the premises of the lawyer, and the lawyer ignores the facts of the scientist.

SCIENCE does not ignore all premises. The scientist has some premises which he calls axioms or self-evident truths, such as that a straight line is the shortest distance between two points. These are not altogether satisfactory, of course, but they reduce the premise at least to its lowest terms. Beyond that we cannot go. But these premises are distinctly different from the premises of the lawyer which are metaphysical and not based upon the observation of fact at any point as we would consider observation today. Or, in other words, where based upon observation, upon observation so crude and inadequate and primitive that it can scarcely stand as such. On the whole, the lawyer's premises are very large assumptions rather than minimal. The lawyer does not ignore all facts. He accepts certain facts (one man has killed another). In the establishment of facts of this order he has shown no little ingenuity, although the scientist might not grant him any great success even in this field. The objection of the scientist is not so much, however, to the methods used in establishing this order of facts as to what follows when these facts have been established—the explanation of the facts. The lawyer might deny that he offers any explanation but this cannot be admitted, for when a judge sentences a prisoner to a term of years in a prison, he can do so only on the basis of an explanation that this man is a willfully bad man who must be punished—this or one of its variants. This explanation and its variants has been arrived at by premise and logic, by "evidence" that the lawyer's own modern rules of evidence would not today permit in court, rather than by accurate observation and study of human behavior. All this leads to an impasse in which each has the conviction of being right, and is inclined to feel the other absurd, stiffnecked and stubborn.

Deduction as a method of explanation has largely been given up in all departments of life except in two important fields, religion and law, with their corollaries, morals and ethics. The issue is now drawn sharply at these points. It would seem clear that men must give up entirely deduction as a method of explanation (of course, one distinguishes between deduction as a method of explanation and deduction as a process of reasoning) which means obviously that religion and law are not to be altered by patching, the process at work in both fields at the present time, but that both must be entirely remade. A brief but excellent account of the patching that has been going on in the field of religion is to be found in an article Changes in the Theory of Religion in the current (April) number of Mental Hygiene, by Professor M. C. Otto of the University of Wisconsin. The progress toward a more rational or naturalistic religion is found in A. Eustace Haydon's The Quest of the Ages, and particularly clearly in his communication to the first International Congress on Mental Hygiene, Spiritual (Religious) Values Significant to Mental Hygiene. Although in this paper Haydon largely clears from the field of religion the products of deduction as a method of explanation, he retains the word "religion." Again he pours his new wine into an old bottle. The objectives Haydon names for religion seem less in harmony with religion as we have known it in the Western World than with the objectives of certain groups in the field of human behavior who, in any ordinary sense, would not consider their views religious at all. Perhaps the word "religion" is the best that can be used for the present, although as Professor T. Livingston Scholtz of the University of Southern California says in a review of Haydon's book and Ames' "Religion" in the current Mental Hygiene:

> For the philosopher, seeking the good life through the instrumentality of intelligence, the question will be: Why confuse the issue by dragging in the term religion to cover an activity that has nothing in common with what most people regard as religious observance? For the more conventionally religious person, on the other hand, the criticism will take the form: Why apply the word religion, with which we associate a definite emotional ceremonial and creed, to a way of life that is essentially purely rationalistic? Conceivably neither of these criticisms is wholly just, but both go pretty well to the heart of the matter.

From the direction things are taking it would seem reasonable to believe that the word "religion" will become obsolete and will have interest only as representing an important historical phase in human development. What new word will come to be used to express new concepts that man will work out for himself there is, of course, no way of knowing.

When one says that religion will cease to have the significance it has had in the past, and to a certain extent has today, one does not mean that all that religion has represented will cease to have significance—although we must be prepared to give up everything if necessary. It means merely that whatever is retained must be retained for good cause arrived at from an entirely different direction than originally. We know all too well that truth has often been arrived at by poets far in advance of its demonstration as truth by scientists, to cast out bodily all the judgments arrived at by religion. It means merely that much that is dross will be consumed, and that what is valuable will remain and be a foundation upon which we can safely build.

NO sincere man can object to this. What is vital in religion has nothing to fear. It cannot be harmed. Those are right who say that the spiritual transcends science and that science cannot solve problems in this field. The question is merely, what is spiritual? The limits of what is to be considered spiritual, special, sacred, have receded. From once embracing a large domain, the borders have been drawn back and back as man has been able to find explanations for things which are natural and rational and require no supernatural assumptions, until now little is left but the matter of man's conduct itself. There can be no stopping at this point for this concerns man more than all that has gone before. Having learned much as to the possibilities of his world he will not be content until he has learned more in regard to the possibilities of himself. This cannot be determined by assumptions of any kind. These possibilities can only be discovered by an investigation of himself and this certainly he will make regardless of the views of some that explanations are already at hand. What in man's conduct can find a natural and rational explanation, whether it be his loves or his hates, will be found; what is spiritual, special, supernatural, will always remain so. Having cleared away what now incorrectly passes as such and which now obstructs our view will but cause to stand out more clearly that which is spiritually vital.

We cannot be sure that the methods now being brought into use in the study and perhaps eventual understanding of human behavior will eventually bring about a synthesis that will make life satisfactory. There is reason to believe that it may, but whether it does or not is not the point. We shall have to follow through regardless of where we come out. This does not make less difficult the situation of those of us who live at this stage of human exploration, when preliminary facts are in the process of being gathered. It is important that we recognize this special difficulty because it is another source of our conflict. We are pulled in two directions. We desire to go ahead, and at the same time we desire not to go ahead because deduction offers us certain satisfactions—purpose in life, definite moral values, religious sustenance, and the like, so that we are constantly tempted to accept this and let the other go. This makes

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the road we must travel seem particularly hard and in moments of confusion we blame the road when, hard as the road is, it is not so much the road that causes our pain as the conflict within ourselves in the giving up of security for insecurity, dependence for independence.

The situation is the same in the field of criminal law. The criminal law as it exists today is a serious handicap in the field of delinquency. Success in the field of delinquency will not come with the writing of now this new law and now that, with the remodeling and amending of now this law and now that, a change of method here and a modification of technique there. Success will come only with a complete rewriting of the entire criminal law. It may seem presumptuous for one of another profession to make such a statement, and one might hesitate to do it were it not for the fact that one finds support among jurists of distinction. The Law School of Harvard University is at present engaged upon a study of the criminal law that has for its object precisely this thing—the complete recasting of the criminal law and the building up of a legal structure that will be based upon such observed facts as we have and that in its methods and techniques will be at all times in touch with reality; a structure built in the laboratory, as it were, and not in the armchair; a structure that will remain a laboratory and not become a mere dusty library. Other law schools in America, such as the Yale and Columbia Law Schools, are also interested in this matter, so that it becomes not alone the crying of psychiatric Jeremiahs, nor the enthusiasm of an isolated group of teachers of law, but a matter full of significance.

This conflict exists between the inductive and the deductive method of arriving at explanations in all fields. The situation is particularly difficult at the present time in the field of human behavior because the time has not yet arrived when facts obtained by an inductive method can be synthesized. There are usable facts, but we are still in the period of observation and hypothesis, although certain men, notably Rank and Alexander, have made some attempts at synthesis. But while there is confusion because of this situation, the main source of difficulty is not here but in the conflict itself between the two methods, and what they stand for in our daily life. The conflicts in the one field (induction) would be less troublesome if we could clear ourselves emotionally from the other (deduction). We need to orient ourselves in the situation, to see clearly what it is that is actually taking place, to see the minor conflicts (which we tend to make major) in relation to the whole (the major to which we tend to close our eyes); to expect opposition, even bitter opposition, much of it honest, the most bitter not disinterested; to understand this and not to be disturbed by it, not to waste energy in quarrels that beg the question and have no solution, nor in finding harmonies and agreements when harmonies and agreements cannot in the nature of things exist. If we have thus far in our explorations learned anything, we shall not be able to hate those who oppose—except consciously dishonest ones whom we shall not fear to strike—nor shall we be able to over-estimate ourselves. The satisfaction that belongs to an honest workman we shall be able to accept.

FROM CONQUEST TO CONFERENCE

(*Continued from page* 153)

quite willing to relinquish that feature of their design, along with the pledge, already received, of one bell, for it. I think I never have seen a project so free of the poison of pride of authorship and self-aggrandizement. The spirit of the movement is apparent in the Petition:

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(*Continued on page* 164)

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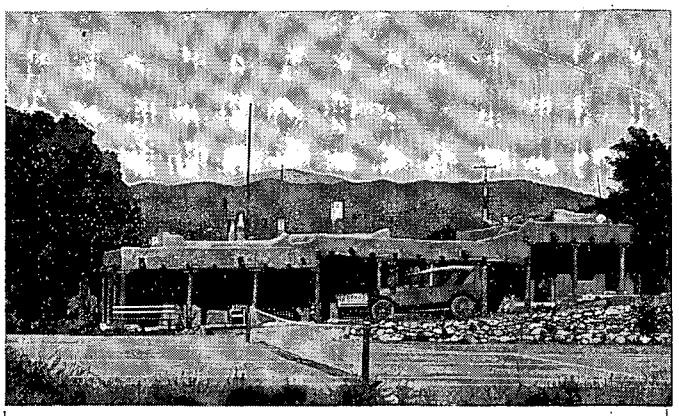

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THE Institute of International Education (2 West 45 Street, New York), under the direction of Dr. Stephen P. Duggan, may well be termed a transcontinental route of friendship and edification. For it has helped to send and receive, counsel and connect, students and educators of divers races and places. For instance, while the Institute itself has no funds to offer scholarships, it has been entrusted with the administration of over 270 of them; and last year furnished some 8,000 foreign students with information regarding American educational opportunities.

Its newer operations include a Latin American division, headed up by Laurence Duggan, the director's son, who has spent many months in South America. He reports very interestingly on the causes of the great differences between the cultural background of Latin American countries and the United States. First, although the "conquistadores" who went to Central and South America in search of their fortunes were either Spanish or Portuguese, they looked to France for their culture. Today, art, literature, philosophy, all have a French heritage, which France continues to strengthen by sending on the flower of her intelligensia. The United States derived both her early settlers and culture from Great Britain; and despite the large influx of Southern Europeans during the latter part of the nineteenth and early years of the twentieth century, retained very substantially her Anglo-Saxon ideas.

Secondly, the military and exploitive character of Spain's colonial system created a situation that inevitably marked education as an advantage only for the higher class. This resulted in an attitude of mind that regarded the function of education as the handing down of static culture, which, instead of fulfilling its meaning of growth, became a comparatively stationary and theoretical thing. The colonizers of the United States came with the intent of settling down, of making this country their home; and this is reflected in the democratic and experimental process of her education. For two hundred and fifty years the problems were practical ones, centering about the conquest of the soil. Today, Latin America is turning to the United States for instruction in the sciences, particularly in the applied sciences. Due in part to North American example, the old attitude towards engineering and agriculture is changing.

Last summer the Institute experimented with a summer school in Brazil, designed to give North Americans an insight into the problems of Latin America, with special emphasis on Brazil. The fact that they are repeating it this year testifies as to its worthwhileness. In addition to the educational aspects of the trip, there is all the lure of Rio de Janeiro, most beautiful of cities, and of seeing Brazilian life in full swing, during its mild sub-tropical winter; to say nothing of stops at Bermuda, Sao Paulo and Santos. And certainly no less compelling is the fact that this two months trip (June 27—August 27) has been put at the very low figure of $455.

Tours

BECOMING a concert dancer in Europe is no happy accident. It presupposes very definitely education and training. And Europe, particularly Germany, is pioneering in altogether new ways in this, what Havelock Ellis considers the primary expression of man. Students and devotees of the dance will be glad to know that a tour is being organized to visit

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some famous European schools, where short intensive courses will be given for the Americans. For further information apply to The Open Road, Inc., 20 West 43 Street, or Miss Sara Mildred Strauss, Carnegie Hall, New York.

Music lovers, too, are being provided for. Raymond & Whitcomb, 670 Fifth Avenue, New York, are instituting a Music Supervisors' Tour featuring the great musical and dramatic festivals. At Bayreuth this summer, Arturo Toscanini will conduct all performances of Tristan and Isolde and Tannhaeuser; and Siegfried Wagner, one "Ring" series.

Geneva has become world famous; and why not, with her extraordinary combination of beauty and brains! The former of course speaks for itself; but the latter needs expert interpretation. In this connection, the League of Nations Association, 6 East 39 Street, New York, is sponsoring a trip to observe the operations of the League. This will also include free attendance at the Institute of International Relations, where such specialists as Harold J. Laski, Lord Robert Cecil, Andre Siegfried, S. de Madariaga and Alfred Zimmern will be among the lecturers.

Those who would delve into the social sciences will want to communicate with the League for Industrial Democracy, 112 East 19 Street, New York; for Dr. and Mrs. Harry W. Laidler are taking a group over to visit important cooperative, trade union and labor party institutions.

On the industrial side, Professor Gordon Grant of the Research Bureau for Retail Training, University of Pittsburgh, will conduct a study group in retailing methods, ranging over apprentice training, selling, customer-psychology, merchandising, advertising, etc.

Hubert C. Herring, executive director of The Committee on Cultural Relations With Latin America, 112 East 19 Street, New York, announces their fifth annual seminar in a cooperative study of Mexican life and culture in Mexico City.

And Karl Borders, associate director of Chicago Commons, 955 West Grand Avenue, Chicago, will lead a small party to observe the development of the Soviet programs on health propaganda, social legislation, education, and housing and to study rural communities.

Meetings

THE sixth Pan American Child Congress will be held in Lima, Peru, July 4-11. The sections will include medicine, surgery, hygiene, social work, legislation and education. Complete details can be had from the U. S. Children's Bureau, Washington, D. C.

The tenth International Prison Congress will be held in Prague, Czechoslovakia, August 25-30. Some of the subjects on the program are crime prevention, payment and recreation of prisoners, the indeterminate sentence, children's courts and juvenile delinquents, and unification of the fundamental principles of penal law in the different countries. Write to Mrs. H. Otto Wittpenn, 1 Newark Street, Hoboken, N. J., for full information.

The third International Congress of Applied Mechanics in Stockholm, Sweden, August 25-29, will be attended by several hundred scientists and engineers from all parts of the world.

Miscellaneous

THE League of Nations Institute of Intellectual Cooperation has compiled a splendid pamphlet of Holiday Courses in Europe, which is being distributed in this country through The World Peace Foundation, 40 Mount Vernon Street, Boston, at fifty cents per copy.

Travelers who would concentrate on German and Germany, may be interested in Fischer's, a private students' home for acquiring a thorough knowledge of that language. Apply to Dr. Friedrich Ruppel, Hamburg 1, Plan 6.

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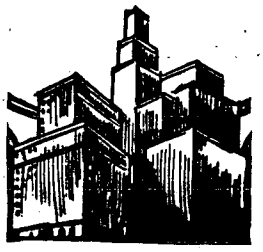

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(*Continued from page* 161)

by individual places of worship: chapel, church, mosque, synagogue, temple.

Upon the walls of the Hall of Peace, it is proposed to place a memorial tablet:

"To the brave men of every land, all ages, who have given their lives for peace."

Such a spiritual, non-sectarian Center would provide a place where men of all religions could meet for conference; and, either individually or collectively, for communion with the Power which promotes the highest ends: brotherhood on earth; and from which influences might go which would aid in coordinating the power of the world's religions behind the cause of the world's peace.

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This Center would be controlled by a joint international committee, representative of all faiths and so adjusted that all would feel free to cooperate—each keeping his own form of communion independent and his faith free from coercion or competition; and, though entirely independent of the League of Nations, would probably be located near the League's new building. The Center would house and support itself, appoint its own staff and have jurisdiction over its own activities.

We are hoping to enlist the sympathetic cooperation of all those who believe in us, in this gathering of the nations for spiritual understanding.

The first signers of the petition were the late Bishop Charles H. Brent, Sir Herbert Ames, Mrs. J. Malcolm Forbes, Professor and Mrs. Francis B. Sayre, Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, and Dr. and Mrs. Brackett. (This list is not chronological, nor does it imply any relative importance or degree of interest.) Once the idea became known, the roll of signatories extended widely and has now become of world-wide scope, representing many countries, although there has been to this day no seeking of publicity. It would require much more space than I command merely to print the list and identify the signers. I deliberately refrain from citing names; the patent absences might be open to misinterpretation. One Hindu of world-wide fame signed with the compunction that he feared the color of the project would be predominantly Christian. Some have been unwilling to join a movement in which theirs would be "only one in a catalogue of religions—ours is *the* religion." It is the characteristic of almost every religious faith to regard itself as first if not only. Managing such a Center, if it ever comes into actual being, will be business of infinite delicacy and tact.

Those who desire to know more about this idea with the idea of signing the Petition or otherwise cooperating in the unique movement, may get information from Mrs. Elliott Gray Brackett, 166 Newbury Street, Boston. As yet it is only a vision. No obligation, financial or other, is implied in signing the petition; there has been and is not now, any soliciting of funds; nor is the publication of this article designed to be propaganda for that purpose. It is the belief of those devoted to it, that when the idea has spread abroad sufficiently—"when the time for fulfillment comes"—the material means will be forthcoming. Now it is spreading as a project unique; entirely congenial to the essential spirit of the League of Nations but apart from and broader than that organization of political governments; free and ever to be kept free of the problems and controversies which give the League its purpose . . . dealing with still deeper things.

SINTACH VS. SAPP

(*Continued from page* 150)

There was nothing left to suggest but that if both Sapps and Sintaches were still unsatisfied (as they were) that they must take the matter of their relative indebtedness to the civil courts and there thrash out the merits of the passage money, the second-hand suit, the house-cleaning, the purse, the cash drawer, the motive behind Illy's playing of the victrola, and who slept or had slept upon the mattress. Both announced firmly that they would hire lawyers and seek justice elsewhere. They left the court uttering uncomplimentary comments each in his own tongue, with Illy shuffling behind, as she indulged in what looked like a pure American wink.

Granted the fact that a substantial fraction of our good

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taxes is spent to furnish a quiet room where Sapps, Sintaches and their like, can rehearse their family quarrels to a new audience, how can justice be dispensed satisfactorily to all concerned? In transactions limited by no contracts, no signatures, no witnesses, and no receipts, the human memory and human fancy are fathered more by wishes than by events. Neighbors kindly disposed to either side can be depended upon to remember anything that is shouted to them long and loud enough—and between them all, can Justice be blamed if her scales sometimes tip over?

One's reflections as Sam and Illy vanish noisily from the scene are, first, that any grocer, realtor, instalment collector or undertaker, who collects his bills from any of them, is to be congratulated. And second, that Americans, the renowned and world-acknowledged dollar chasers, are but children at this sport. We still have much to learn from the Illys, the Dominicas and Sams!

PSYCHOANALYSIS AND HUMANKIND

(*Continued from page* 130)

incident to childhood relationships, which deep in his unconscious mind maintain an unabated vitality.

Nervous illness presents a common result of inadequate libido evolution. Viewed in the large, civilization and culture mean the progressive socialization of the human instincts and each person must repeat much of this process in his own mental life. In the neurotic there has been failure somewhere in this orderly psychological development and a basis is thereby laid down for mental conflict and resulting nervous symptoms. When conflict gains proportions with which the individual is unable to cope in any progressive manner, the mechanism of repression comes to his aid and automatically protects him from the distressing awareness of inner problems. But the problems are not solved by being buried. The factors involved are highly charged with energy which surges toward expression. Neither side of conflict can be given direct outlet without violating the other. Symptom formation furnishes an indirect and compromise solution and, at the expense of invalidism, an adjustment of a sort is accomplished. An example will illustrate.

A young business woman feared to go about away from familiar associates or environment. When forced into such situations she became panic-stricken while at the same time realizing the groundlessness of her fear. On the surface the condition had no rational meaning, and was indeed as foolish as the sufferer maintained. Deeper mental examination, however, revealed it to be the result of adequate causes. The patient had never gained that emotional independence necessary to face the adult world. She still had such need of the support which the little child gets from the parent. Her dependency was buried under a normal enough exterior but left her no less vulnerable to breakdown under special circumstances. The symptom had a double significance. In a manner mainly symbolic it represented the fear of being emotionally isolated while at the same time, by restricting her movements, it served to keep her in a position of security. When she said that on attempting to make a journey by herself she felt like a child who wakens frightened in the night calling for its mother, she spoke more truly than she knew of her own state of emotional helplessness.

The psychoanalytic method of treatment in the neuroses is based upon the theory of their nature thus briefly outlined. There has been failure somewhere in normal psychological growth. The purpose of psychoanalysis is to produce, in its special setting, a tardy psychological growth which under more favorable circumstances would have occurred spontaneously in childhood and adolescence. The principle of treatment is to take the patient back mentally to the source of his unconscious conflict, activate the factors once more, and bring them, as far as possible, from the depths to the surface of his mind. He is then in a more advantageous position than before to be helped to a new and better solution.

The method for carrying out this purpose in treatment is divided into two features: First, the intellectual one, which consists in a reconstruction of the life story; and the second, the emotional one, which is a

(*Continued on page* 166)

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(*Continued from page* 165)

product of the actual experience of the analysis itself.

The first, or intellectual process, begins with a searching autobiography. Very often nothing of which the subject is not clearly aware is brought into his mind. In other cases long-forgotten incidents may be recovered, dealing at times with very early childhood. In either case, all this material is newly evaluated. In addition to the reconstruction of the conscious life history, it appears possible by inference and indirection to get at much of the psychic life of the past which had never reached the threshold of consciousness.

The second feature of treatment, i.e., the emotional experience of the analysis itself, is usually of far more significance from the standpoint of therapy than anything that can be directly gained through the intellect. This emotional experience is difficult to describe, but not so difficult to experience either as analyst or subject. In brief, it appears that the neurotic individual has many undeveloped needs and strivings, which can never be satisfied in the world of reality. They are a survival of emotional patterns laid down in early childhood, limiting and coloring falsely all his relationships in adult life. Often he does not permit these inadequate patterns to become manifest even to himself, but none the less they are there—destined to bring to him continual rebuff and disappointment. This constant thwarting comes partly because his own insistent and childish cravings keep him from appreciating the needs and strivings of other people with whom he must deal and partly from conflict within arising from the influence of his more mature self, which forbids the free manifestation of immature and undeveloped tendencies.

The therapeutic situation between patient and analyst is, so to speak, artificially constructed for the purpose of inviting out into the open the concealed infantile components of the subject's personality. Thus it is made possible for the individual to discover for himself, in something of a laboratory setting, his childish demands and the impossibility of satisfying them in the adult world in which he must live. He is then in a position as never before to see himself as he really is, and to gain a new and deeper self-understanding by an experience which means far more than any teaching. This understanding marks at least a first step toward self-direction and control.

THE analyst plays a different role than the physician in other types of psychotherapy. He is not the traditional guide, philosopher and friend. He does not exhort or instruct, advise or criticize, praise or blame. His sole function is to interpret to the patient his reactions as they appear in the analysis and in life outside. The patient does most of the talking. An analysis is more of a monologue than a discussion. The patient makes a personality study of himself. He cannot do this alone, and the analyst is there to assist, bringing to the task a trained mind together with the objective viewpoint which the patient himself can never have. In this analytical relationship the analyst plays a part which is less as an individual than as a phantom and composite figure of those who played an important part in the formative life of the patient. Toward this phantom figure are reactivated the old and unsolved mental attitudes which are involved in the structure of the neurosis. The patient in a sense uses the analyst as a foil in working out and bringing to the surface the drama of his own deeper emotional life.

The theory of psychoanalysis has markedly influenced the therapy of nervous disorders in general, and more broadly it is aiding in a more enlightened attitude toward individual unhappiness and failure and the problems of delinquency and crime. Technical psychoanalytic procedure, however, is applicable chiefly to a selected group of cases, and perhaps even then has its major usefulness as a last resort when other methods fail. Psychoanalytic treatment has been called the major surgery of psychotherapy. The comparison does well enough. Like surgery, it is not the first thing to think of in time of trouble. Like surgery, it will often accomplish what less radical measures fail to do; and, like surgery again, unwisely applied, it may do harm.

The student or practitioner who takes the psychoanalytic approach to the problems of neuroses and other maladjustments develops a new tolerance toward the frailties of human nature. In respect to behavior and attitudes he sees that people are not

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to be classed as good or bad so much as more or less completely developed personalities. To the degree that they are immature on deeper psychic levels are they bound in one way or another to react poorly to the world of reality in which they live. More and more it will be borne in upon him that, on the whole, the "normal," mature and adult personality is prepared to function spontaneously along lines which in the social sense must be considered desirable. Perfection remains always remote, but insofar as the goal of a complete personality is approached is the individual able to express himself freely with a minimum of energy-wasting conflict and repression—impulse and intelligence operating harmoniously and instinct fused with ego in a unified whole.

THE GENIUS OF CLIFFORD W. BEERS

(*Continued from page* 119)

the American Foundation for Mental Hygiene when it was organized in 1928:

We, the founders of the American Foundation for Mental Hygiene, are met upon the effort to create and carry forward a means effective to the end of promoting and conserving mental health and ameliorating the scourge of mental ill-health.

Science takes exception to the law that only those whom nature deems the fittest shall survive. Nature has her hidden remedies for the torture of a broken mind or body, and science is upon the march in search of those remedies, that they may be rededicated to mankind. The knowledge so gained forms a sacred trust of civilization for the maintenance of the strong, for the refitting of the weak and sick to their health and opportunity, and for their deliverance to a useful life in the community and that pursuit of happiness which is the proper promise of creation.

The meeting of the First International Congress on Mental Hygiene, bringing together its thousands, coincides with the twenty-second anniversary of that little gathering of fourteen persons in a house in New Haven. Looking backward over those twenty years Professor C.-E. A. Winslow of Yale, now the president of the Connecticut society and for many years identified with its work, asks what has happened to change so radically the misery of misunderstanding from which Clifford Beers suffered so short a time ago.

Why have "insane asylums" become "state hospitals?" Why have the typical "violent wards" of the last century practically disappeared? Why have mental-hygiene clinics grown up through the country to the number of several hundred? Why are the courts and the schools more and more turning to the psychiatrist with their problems? Why does the public now regard insanity as a disease rather than a crime? Why do we have a "mental hygiene movement?"

Scores of psychiatrists, hundreds of wise physicians and social workers and judges and teachers, thousands of public-spirited laymen and laywomen have contributed to this cause; but one individual has been the primary catalytic agent in the awakening of the American public to its new and revolutionary attitude.

Seeing Mr. Beers today, you would be impressed first by the quick, sharp, half-humorous outflowing of his energy; the supersalesmanship, with which, at risk of seeming egotistic or bombastic, he has laid his own life on the counter to get before others the realization of an idea. He is the playboy as well as the dynamo of the mental hygiene movement. This is the way in which he put before an eminent banquet of psychiatrists and philanthropists the need of immediate money for the National Committee for Mental Hygiene, and of long range "big money" as endowment for the foundation in the future:

I started out to help the insane. Now everybody is coming around for help, the feebleminded, the criminal, even the normal people. I can't raise all of the money to pay all those bills. I didn't start out on any proposition like that. . . . In going out for big money for the Foundation I may and probably will get a good deal of money for the National Committee, but if I have to keep worrying whether the rent can be paid and the staff is to get their salaries (my own is paid from another source) that simply cramps my style. . . . Will Rogers recently said it was a shame to send Alfred E. Smith out with a tin cup to clean up the deficits of the Democratic National Committee. For years I have had a tin cup as a watch-charm, so to speak, with reference to mental hygiene deficits, and I am sick of the noise it makes. I might as well be a goat with a bell on it.

(*Continued on page* 170)

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STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, of SURVEY GRAPHIC, published monthly at New York, N. Y., for April 1, 1930.

State of New York, County of New York, } ss.

Before me, a Commissioner of Deeds, in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared John D. Kenderdine, who, having been duly sworn, according to law, deposes and says that he is the business manager of SURVEY GRAPHIC, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication, for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 411, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business manager are: Publisher, Survey Associates, Inc., 112 East 19 Street, New York City; Editor, Paul U. Kellogg, 112 East 19 Street, New York City; Managing Editor, Arthur Kellogg, 112 East 19 Street, New York City; Business Manager, John D. Kenderdine, 112 East 19 Street, New York City.

2. That the owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding one per cent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a firm, company, or other unincorporated concern, its name and address, as well as those of each individual member, must be given.) Survey Associates, Inc., 112 East 19 St., New York City, a non-commercial corporation under the laws of the State of New York with over 1,900 members. It has no stocks or bonds. President, Robert W. deForest, 165 Broadway, New York, N. Y.; Vice-Presidents, Julian W. Mack, 1224 Woolworth Building, New York, N. Y.; V. Everit Macy, "Chilmark," Scarborough-on-Hudson, N. Y.; Secretary, John Palmer Gavit, 112 East 19 Street, New York, N. Y.; Treasurer, Arthur Kellogg, 112 East 19 Street, New York, N. Y.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages or other securities are: (If there are none, so state.) None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

[Signed] JOHN D. KENDERDINE, Business Manager

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 26th day of March, 1930.

[Seal] MARTHA HOHMANN, Commissioner of Deeds, City of New York.

New York Co. Clerk's No. 156. New York Co. Register's No. 55-0.

My Commission expires May 15, 1930.

(*Continued from page* 167)

But behind this jesting facade, in his face as well as in his record of accomplishment, one discerns the qualities of Clifford Beers of which William James wrote in a letter shortly before his death. "I think that your tenacity of purpose, foresight, tact, temper, discretion and patience are beyond all praise, and I esteem it an honor to have been in any way associated with you."

At the same dinner this winter at which Mr. Beers announced he was tired of being the goat, Dr. William A. White of St. Elizabeth's Hospital in Washington, one of the leading psychiatrists of the country and the president of the international congress, speculated on the qualities that had brought this man's mind back from madness, past the treacherous reefs of fanaticism or mere rebellion, to become one of the constructive forces of his time.

"I believe," said Dr. White, "that it was due to his extremely extraordinary ability to see meaning where other people had found only resentment that this mental hygiene movement owes its origin. If you will examine his book, you will find that the emphasis is always positive; that he did not leave his experiences with hate or animosity, but only with a feeling of the innate stupidity of the whole proceeding founded upon ignorance which ought to be corrected by a proper evaluation of the circumstances and the situation. . . . That thing [the ignorant, unsympathetic and sometimes cruel treatment of the insane] had been going on for a century, but it remained for one individual out of these many thousands over these many years, to have had such an experience and to have thought it through judicially and constructively, to have sought for the reasons for these experiences, and endeavored to find a remedy. The strange alchemy of the mind that succeeded in answering these questions, or at least suggesting the directions in which progress would find those answers, was the mind of Mr. Beers. It is to such alchemic types of mind that we give the name of genius."

THE NATURAL HISTORY OF GRAFT

(*Continued from page* 140)

compounded if you like, graver. The poorer you are, the nearer to the penal fencing. In a living community, not only does the lower line under the push of life heave upward, as it were, to fill the gap between written and unwritten law, but that (in our metaphor, above it) the code itself is subject to a constant tendency downward to meet the other.

This behavior of the "law-line" is of course everything, most of it seldom recognized, that the term "administration" covers. Only among the Medes and Persians, or in some other stagnant Asiatic community, is the administration play zero. A penal law is made; we have noticed with what specially ideal disregard of practical circumstances in the American system. In the first place, the after-history of its administration may be that in practice it is dropped altogether. Most Sunday laws for example, still on the statute book, have to all intents and purposes died on their stalk. The laws against spitting, many anti-smoking laws, and so forth, share more or less the same fate. The prohibition law itself is perhaps in the first stages of such an abandonment, which is the favorite method of adjustment among the English and all those whose juristic culture is influenced by their ways of thinking. The English, and the Americans to a less degree, use and abuse the mere forgetting of an unworkable law, instead of like the logical French taking the more reasonable but difficult method of removing it from the code by legislative vote.

The second of these typical adjustments is that practiced by the police, on which, in its two forms, the "give and take" system and "grafting" we have commented.

There is also a third type of adjustment, which is even more important and unpleasant to the idealist and theoretician, not petty, but big graft—the whole graft of politicians.

The moral pattern into which this has been cast by the reformers is no less than the famous "alliance between politics and the underworld." One of the principal tasks of the Crime Survey was to estimate the exact extent of this "alliance"; and I propose to take the somewhat vague result of this—certainly the best that ever could be made—as accurate. This is, briefly,

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that the alliance is suspected to have been very great in the past, in the old Levee days, that it is based on "mutuality of services: the politician affords protection or immunity from prosecution, the gangster rallies his friends for legal as well as fraudulent voting." But that it is in process of fast evolution. "The old-style boss and the old-style relationship is disappearing." Neighborliness and friendly relations are receding to the background. Immunity is no longer obtained by friendship but from (money) graft. And again "the old type of friendly relations between gangster and politician is fast being replaced by alliances based upon financial considerations." (Crime Survey Chap. XXVIII, etc.)

To this I may add, as a personal opinion from observation: 1, that the old style "grafting politician" is disappearing rapidly, no match for the fierce and intelligent attacks of the reform partisans; and 2, that his successor will prove much easier to deal with.

THE men who are going or gone, that generation which included Hinky Dink, Bathhouse John, the pillars of Billy Boyle's chop house, and Schlogl's restaurant, who sat in state at bootblack parlors, on Sunday mornings, have never been able, nor often have tried to state a case for their defence. Nevertheless, I fancy that most of them, and even that amorphous link between them and the reformers, William Hale Thompson, had often some stubborn and irreductible feeling of moral justification within themselves, which was never touched, and which, in the light of our studies so far, could be understood. Once upon a time I vainly tried to get some of the reputedly similar characters of Tammany here in New York to put this conviction I suspected them to have, into words. I had read of the famous *gaffe* of, "There is such a thing as honest graft," and I did not quite join in the laugh. But the furthest I ever got behind the barrage of taciturn politeness among the leaders was that one of them said to me, "Well now, is this government by and for the people or not?" He evidently meant a great deal by it.

Underneath is certainly, I believe, whatever the heap of merely greedy and dishonest motives that mask it, a natural, if not a defensible, thing. And that thing is a special case of the adjustment of the law to Chicago and extreme democratic conditions. These men bent the law; but partly to the advantage of their constituents, and therefore somehow to the general interest in a transient and difficult social situation. Their opposite is not the honest politician, but simply the absentee representative, alien in residence, and above all, in class, such as is commonly found in England. What constitutes a ward politician is not, too simply, that he is dishonest; but that he is the man of special neighbors and individual interests exclusively. In his day, the most powerful of them knew every living soul in his district, from the babies to the old men, and he owed his position and served his sort of conscience by giving them what they wanted.

Now we have seen these neighborhoods of Chicago, in the rim of the Loop district, in the spokes of the Black, Italian, and Jewish belts, in the human deserts south of the Stockyards. Most of these people usually want something which the law does not give them, and often what the law forbids. They want little adjustments, sometimes big concessions, sometimes the grant of life itself for themselves or their gangster sweethearts or sons.

Both the good and the evil of the ward-boss' position was that he gave them unscrupulously what they asked. If he had not done so, he would say, he would be failing in his duty to them. A complicated, casuistical duty, that of representative of the people in a democracy!—even when the constituents were not poor, alien, eager for life, and the general law of the country not specially puritan and ideal. Why then the ballot frauds and outrages, going even to murder, with which he used to keep his position? Mainly because we are again in the outlaw realm, the extra-legal realm where the only remedy for any difficulty is force. Force and threats of force. Even the world of international affairs, still mainly ruled "by blackmail tempered with fraud," the two instruments of the old diplomacy, is orderly compared with ward politics in the days that are passing. Of two rival

(*Continued on page* 173)

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law-benders, whose rival gangs and thugs turned ballot-day into a Donnybrook Fair, who is to decide which was defending the voters' free-will, and who intimidating them? Yet that must often have been the situation. And only when the social situation has sufficiently evolved, in the very dawn of a day in which their peculiar and obscure use will depart, could either or both of them allied have a chance of survival against honest candidates and the strength of principles. When the adjustment has reached a certain point, the old-time boss, with all his battalions, has no more hope of keeping his place, by fair means or foul, than a feudal baron. He, too, is an anachronism.

But he is going even now, this neighborhood patriot, who never refused to shake hands with a voter who was a thief, who never put the interest of his country before that of his block, and who turned Decatur's maxim into the unlawful parody of, "My constituents, inside or outside the law." It is much too early to be sentimental about him. But mark my words, he will be brought into a sentimental drama of the good old times one day yet, and quite nice people will weep over his going, as they do over all that was beaten out of existence by progress; and laugh over his casuistical difficulties, tenderly. They never made great fortunes anyway, and had no office hours.

The new ones, who get your "rap" sidetracked without knowing your first name, who hire gangs for their elections and do not simply get together a crowd of school friends with sticks—these new men, who have taken the picturesque old rogues' places, have neither the same status nor the same strength as the old. Their bulwark is cunning, not affection—a very much easier thing for the forces of the ideal to batter out of the way. And so within sight, will come the time, surely, when they too will join the others in oblivion, and Chicago at last have only the prudent fraud in high places, the unostentatious, inconspicuous and hardly even extra-legal adjustments, which the oldest and best managed cities of Europe can boast of. Criminologically, violence tends to evolve into fraud. Fraud into trickery. Trickery in its last progression into ordinary business ethics.

One last example of this general process of adjustment of the law to the circumstances of life deserves a mention, for it seems to me involved in a phase of the situation which has been much talked about. That is, the supposed intimidation of juries. I say supposed, because nothing is less certain than that this is the real cause of many of the verdicts of acquittal which surprised those who had read the evidence for the prosecution. It has long been noted by those who concern themselves with the philosophy of law, that the jury system has often tended to act as what assuredly it has no right to, as a modifier of the penal code, that is, in an indirectly and illegitimately legislative function. When the law is too hard, juries are too soft. Very often, no doubt, the mere play of the local neighborhood gang sympathies are sufficient to account for wrong verdicts. In an exact appraisal of even this side of the question, however, I should, as before, like to know the exact character of the case, whether the gangs acted indiscriminately whenever one of their members was in danger or whether only, when by some complicated play of their own code, they actually felt that justice, *their* justice, was on their side. Such as would occur in the case of a gang killing. There is a great quantity of impeccably definite evidence of such action. But there are other cases where there is a strong suspicion that this explanation is unfounded, where persons accused, and overwhelmed by the weight of evidence, have been acquitted, not because the jury was intimidated, but because the jury was sympathetic. This possibility should always be borne in mind. It is a typical case of the adjustment of the law, and not the least socially dangerous of them all.

Now having seen very sketchily, rather in suggestions than proofs, that an excess of this double adjustment is the large design of what is peculiar to the Chicago situation, I might, without myself venturing to suggest any remedy of it, discuss the likely value of what have already been applied or discovered as natural anti-toxins to exist.

It is not necessary in the first (*Continued on page* 176)

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